FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 133 *13 July 1981*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Further Reportage on CEMA Delegate Speeches AA 1
Jagielski Address AA 1
[TRYBUNA LUDU 4-5 Jul]
Lazar 2 Jul Speech AA 1
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 3 Jul]
Lazar 3 Jul Remarks AA 5
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 4 Jul]
Strougal 2 Jul Speech AA 6
[Bratislava PRAVDA 3 Jul]
Strougal 3 Jul Remarks AA 9
[RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul]
Foreign Delegations Depart After CEMA Session AA 10
Fadeyev Departure AA 10
Vietnamese Delegation Departs AA 10
GDR Issues Statement on Activities of CEMA Delegation AA 10
Bulgarian Delegate Views Progress in Seventies AA 11
BTA Reports Sofia CEMA Session Communique AA 11

BULGARIA

Petrov Article Denounces Polish Anti-Sovietism C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 7 Jul]
Solidarity Charged With 'Staged Destabilization' C 7
BCP Daily on Dissidence in Solidarity Ranks C 8
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 8 Jul]
Polish Official Quoted on Situation in Poland C 9
FRG's Foreign Minister Genscher Interviewed on Visit C 10
[Cologne]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reportage on Poland on Eve of Ninth PZPR Congress D 1
U.S. Envoy Link With Solidarity D 1
U.S. Media Coverage [RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul] D 1
Katowice Forum Letter D 2
Commentary on Strikes D 3
Plenary Session D 4
Solidarity Elections [Bratislava PRAVDA 9 Jul] D 5
Solidarity Rejects LOT Director D 6
Crackdown on Black Marketeers D 7
Kampuchean Foreign Minister Hun Sen Arrives D 7
CPSU Delegation Arrives To Study Propaganda Work D 7
[Bratislava PRAVDA 7 Jul]
CSCE Delegate Supports Soviet Initiatives D 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Pentagon Plan To Move Troops 'Absolute Provocation' E 1
Warsaw Pact Navies Continue Training in Baltic E 2
Honecker Meets With CPSU's Abrasimov 10 July E 2
Solidarity Responsible for 'Misery' in Poland E 2
National Budget Accounting for 1980 Published E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27-28 Jun]

HUNGARY

Radio Reports Details of Upcoming PZPR Congress F 1
Katowice Meeting F 3
Kampuchean Foreign Minister Meets Kadar, Others F 3
Meets Gyenes F 3
Syrian Party Official Gives News Conference F 3
Delegation Departure F 4

POLAND

Reportage on 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum G 1
Plenum Overview G 1
Barcikowski Addresses Plenum G 2
Olszowski, Grabski Speak G 3
Grabski Plenum Speech G 4
More on Grabski Speech G 6
Moczar Plenum Speech G 7
Further on Moczar Address G 10
Prokopiak on Personal Charges G 11
Kania Discusses Accusations G 12
PZPR Plenum Resolution G 12
Kania Closing Speech G 15
Reportage on 11 July Congress Delegates Meeting G 16
Kania Chairs Meeting G 16
Proposals Adopted G 16
More on Precongress Meeting G 17
PZPR Central Committee Issues Precongress Report G 17
Invited Delegations Begin To Arrive for Congress G 28
Cuban Delegation Arrives G 28
Soviet CPSU Delegation Arrives G 28
CEMA Members To Attend [KYODO] G 29
Party Official Hopes Ex-Members Will Return G 29
Local Meetings During Last Precongress Days Noted G 29
Lower Silesia Delegates Meet G 29
Slupsk Voivodship Plenum G 30
Bielsko-Biala Voivodship G 30
Call for Calm G 30
Szczecin Port Plenum G 31
Need To Overcome Crisis G 31
Barcikowski Addresses Shipyard Congress Delegates G 31
[TRYBUNA LUDU 7 Jul]
Warsaw Reports Katowice Letter to PZPR Congress G 32
More on 10 July Meeting G 33
Lublin Communist Consultative Group Formed G 33
More on Lublin Communists G 33
Discussion Centers, Extraparty Ideology Scored G 33
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI]
Jozef Klasa ZYCIE WARSZAWY Interview Cited G 34
POLITYKA Publishes 'Letter' to Congress Delegates G 35
Warsaw Weekly Views Importance of PZPR Congress G 36
[PRAWO I ZYCIE]
Conflict Ended in Bydgoszcz; Director Resigns G 36
GLOS PRACY Publishes Draft Trade Union Law [30 Jun] G 37

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives Yugoslav Defense Minister H 1
Visit Concludes H 1
Andrei Conducts Talks With Angolan Leaders H 1
Talks Continue H 2
Economic Talks With GDR; Agreement Signed H 2

Press Comments on Problems of Madrid CSCE Meeting H 2
SCINTEIA Criticizes Western Bank Interest Rates H 3
AGERPRES Scans Proposed 'Agrarian Revolution' H 3
Forestry Minister Florea Ends Visit to Bulgaria H 4
Briefs: Somali Minister's Visit H 4

YUGOSLAVIA

Further Reports on 'Arafat Visit to Belgrade
TANJUG Interviews 'Arafat I 1
Khraigher-'Arafat Talks I 1
Mojsov-'Arafat Talks I 3
SFRY-Palestinian Communique I 4
[(Clandestine) Voice of Palestine] I 4
'Arafat Leaves Belgrade
Delegate to CSCE Calls for 'Balanced' Document I 6
'Terrorists' Attack Yugoslav Clubs in Belgium I 6
Ljubicic Returns From Visit to Romania 10 Jul I 7
Doronjski To Continue Treatment in Belgrade I 7
Trade Unions Analyze Work Stoppages in 1980-81 I 8
Hodza Addresses Veterans on Kosovo Events I 8
Kolj Siroka Speaks at Pristina SAWP Session I 9
Srbica Communists View Security Situation I 9
Lipljan Communists View Causes of Demonstrations I 10
Kosovo Defense Council Discusses Defense Plan I 11
Tetovo Assembly Discusses Political Security I 12

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON CEMA DELEGATE SPEECHES

Jagielski Address

AU081206 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Jul 81 p 6

[Report on speech by PZPR Politburo member Mieczyslaw Jagielski at the 3 July session of the 35th CEMA meeting in Sofia--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, who is Poland's permanent representative in CEMA, discussed at length Poland's situation and the lines of our economic activities and stressed the importance and significance of the efforts to tighten our comprehensive economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries. Expanding that cooperation, he said, is one of the chief programmatic theses prepared for the Ninth Special Party Congress and a basic condition for overcoming our economy's urgent and extremely difficult problems.

M. JAGIELSKI SUBMITTED ANEW THE PROPOSAL TO INTRODUCE NEW FORMS OF COOPERATION IN ORDER TO TIGHTEN INTEGRATION LINKS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ELECTROENGINEERING, METALLURGICAL, CHEMICAL, LIGHT AND BUILDING MATERIALS INDUSTRIES.

We propose, he continued, to exploit the Polish industry's production capacities with the help of the supplies of raw and other materials and the coproduction elements from the socialist countries. We have also proposed that those countries should participate in the production of the halted investment in Poland.

We have held many consultations on that subject with the USSR and other CEMA countries. Vice Premier Jagielski said he was convinced that implementation of the proposals in question could be to mutual advantage. Increased supplies of Polish goods to the CEMA countries would help relax many difficulties of our economy.

MINDFUL OF THE FURTHER INCREASES IN ITS TURNOVER WITH THE CEMA COUNTRIES, THE POLISH SIDE IS READY TO RENDER VARIOUS SERVICES CONCERNING DESIGN, MODERNIZATION AND CONSTRUCTION IN ADDITION TO INCREASED EXPORTS.

Discussing the coordination of 5-year plans, M. Jagielski said that it should be further expanded. What is especially important, he said, is to coordinate the individual countries' fundamental investment plans, the policy concerning the purchases of licenses and the programs for developing the selected branches of production. It is necessary to create more effective systems of motivation to stimulate the development of direct production and scientific-technical cooperation among enterprises and economic organizations. Such cooperation should be permanent and should develop on the strength of long-term accords and agreements. M. Jagielski then discussed specific issues of cooperation, especially regarding fuels and raw materials, and expressed support for the proposal to work out comprehensive measures to improve supplies of foodstuffs for the peoples of the CEMA countries.

CRUCIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN TAPPING THE ADDITIONAL POTENTIAL ROOTED IN MUTUAL PRODUCTION SPECIALIZATION AND COOPERATION CALLS FOR MANY MEASURES AIMED AT MORE RATIONALLY EXPLOITING THE CEMA COUNTRIES' PRODUCTION AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL RESOURCES, AT WORKING OUT AND MASTERING NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND AT RAISING THE COMPETITIVENESS OF PRODUCTS. Progress in those sectors will greatly determine the dynamics of the CEMA countries' economic development in the eighties and will define the socialist community countries' place in the international division of production.

Lazar Speech

AU081340 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jul 81 p 4

[Report on address by Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, at the 2 July meeting of the 35th CEMA session in Sofia: "We Are Actively Participating in Further Developing Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] In his preamble, Gyorgy Lazar conveyed greetings from the MSZMP Central Committee and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic to the participants in the session and continued as follows:

Esteemed comrades, our deliberations are being held at a time when, in most of our countries, our communist and workers parties have already had their scheduled congresses, which have defined the tasks of socialist construction for the coming years. Of these internationally important events, the world paid particular attention to the historic 26th CPSU Congress. That is entirely understandable. CPSU congresses always provide answers to vital issues that preoccupy not only the Soviet people, but mankind as a whole. That was the case also on this occasion. In his speech at the congress, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev reviewed highly significant proposals intended to improve the international atmosphere, curb the arms race, promote the cause of peace and security and develop cooperation among countries with different social systems.

Not a single objective-minded person can doubt that the people of the socialist countries want peace and that the resolutions adopted by their parties' congresses are programs of peace and social progress. Also the latest appeal by the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and peoples of the world manifests our common view and aspiration to peace. In the light of all this, it is even more conspicuous that the most extremist reactionary circles of the capitalist countries are attempting, by immeasurably intensifying the arms race, attacks on the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and slandering the progressive movements, to destroy the results attained in the years of detente and regain their lost positions. Aware of being right and of our strength, we are convinced that, assuming a joint stand with world progressive forces, we will succeed in stemming these irresponsible and dangerous attempts.

We Should Analyze the Lessons

The present tense international situation, which has developed by virtue of the crisis of the capitalist world, has an unfavorable impact on economic relations as well. Discriminatory and protectionist measures, which curtail the kind of development of economic relations among countries with different social systems that began promisingly to emerge following Helsinki have again proliferated.

The report of the executive committee is correct in concluding that, partly because of the above and partly for other well-known reasons, international conditions of socialist construction have become more difficult also for our member countries.

Under such circumstances, one should appraise particularly highly the results attained in our country, which are faithfully reflected in the executive committee report. However, precisely because we are working under more difficult conditions, we should analyze the lessons more profoundly as well. I am of the opinion that we should call on the executive committee to pay even greater attention to this in the future.

Esteemed comrades, I can give you the following information about our country's economic position and our plans. Last year, we concluded our Fifth 5-Year Plan. Although some of the tasks set by the plan have not been accomplished, the gross national product has increased 17 percent in 5 years, and we regard this as a respectable achievement in view of the fact that, owing to our endowments, the unfavorable world market effects noted in the executive committee's report manifest themselves to a greater extent in our people's economy. It is primarily a consequence of a large-scale--approximately 20 percent--deterioration of terms of trade, although weakensses of our own work are also partly responsible for it, that, although the volume of exports has risen considerably more rapidly than that of imports, a deficit has arisen in foreign trade accounts.

In 1978, following a profound analysis, our party's Central Committee, in a highly important resolution, defined the tasks to be accomplished to balance accounts.

It was adopted the position that, subordinating them to the requirements of equilibrium, the rate of growth and domestic utilization should be reduced to a realistically maintainable level and, at the same time, modernizing the structure of production and improving its world market competitiveness should be speeded up, while economic conditions affecting economic activity, including producer and consumer prices, should be gradually attuned to the changed conditions. Following our measures and at the price of great efforts, the deficit of foreign trade accounts has considerably decreased since 1978. But strenuous work for several more years will be required to ensure a lasting equilibrium of accounts.

Our party's 12th congress in March 1980 has approved and confirmed the economic policy line developed in 1978. Accordingly, also our Sixth 5-Year Plan for 1981-85--which was enacted as law by our National Assembly at the end of last year--emphasized requirements of a phase of intensive development. That is the reason that the plan, while foreseeing a relatively moderate increase--2-3 percent annually, sets strict qualitative requirements. Putting this differently, I might say that the cardinal aim of our practical economic policy is not to curtail growth, but to make social-economic processes vigorously develop and continue with economic and organization measures that create better prerequisites for an enhanced interest in ensuring that the introduction of scientific achievements and new technical results is speeded up, production becomes more modern and profitable, competitiveness improves, specific energy and raw material utilization diminishes and work becomes more productive. We can set ourselves only modest objectives in apportioning, because, also in the coming years, we will have to allot approximately two-thirds of the increase of the gross national product to improving foreign trade accounts. That means that, until 1985, we will only be able to increase domestic utilization by approximately 5 percent.

Our program is tight and strict not only because the requirements of a phase of intensive development themselves are strict, but also because, while we ask for work of better quality and a better performance in all areas of life from the working people, in spite of this we cannot promise more than maintaining and consolidating the standard of living that has been attained, and creating the possibility of a more rapid development later. We count on difficult years awaiting us, but we are, nevertheless, optimistic because the paramount prerequisite for fulfilling our plan is given: Our people actively support our party's policy and understand the need for and undertake the accomplishment of the more difficult tasks.

Expanding our planned internationalist cooperation, based on mutual advantage, with the CEMA countries, including the Soviet Union, is another indispensable prerequisite for fulfilling our plan. In keeping with our most specific national interests, we will continue our active participation in making socialist economic integration develop further and in implementing the long-term special programs. At the same time, our position requires us to maintain and expand our existing economic relations, based on equality and mutual interests, with the developing and capitalist countries.

Relations Among the Member Countries Have Deepened

Results prove with the force of facts that practical implementation of the comprehensive program adopted in 1971 has deepened the economic relations of the member countries among one another, and is playing an important role in laying the foundations for their national plans. I cannot refrain from thanking the Soviet Union also on this occasion for its internationalist contribution in promoting the establishment of the comprehensive program, which benefits all of us, and its implementation to date. In conformity with the report, we can conclude with gratification that, by joint effort, we have created great things in the last 10 years, and we can rightly be proud of this.

Now that we must provide an answer to the question of which tasks we should concentrate our forces on in further developing our cooperation in the eighties, particularly great importance is attached to analyzing our experiences, because prerequisites for economic construction are entirely different today than they were 10 years ago, when the comprehensive program was adopted.

Since then, the socialist community's economic potential has considerably strengthened while, at the same time, sources of an extensive development have become exhausted or at least greatly depleted and the requirements of an intensive phase have come to the fore in most of our countries. The relative abundance of energy and raw materials has come to an end and the expense of extracting them has increased: World market price ratios have developed that have fundamentally changed the correlation of prices of energy and raw materials and finished products, and new scientific results have come about which are ready for practical application.

Changes in external and internal conditions of constructive work have been and are raising new questions for us, to some of which we have not yet found a satisfactory answer. However, time is urging us on. It lies in our joint interests to find solutions as soon as possible which would enable us to adapt ourselves to the changed conditions and impart a new impetus to our cooperation. On our part, we far-reachingly approve and support turning the eighties--as Comrade Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress--into a period of intensive cooperation in production and in science and technology among the socialist countries.

Concerning our agenda, I would like to lay separate emphasis on the following:

1. We regard as a task of strategic importance that we should, for a long term and reliably, resolve the provision of fuels, energy and raw materials and facilitate laying foundations for our future development through finding new varieties of energy and raw material sources. At the same time, we regard it as a task as important as expanding production capacities that we should create, through joint work and as soon as possible, technical and economic prerequisites that will enable us to use the available energy sources more rationally and speed up the development of technologies and equipment that facilitate a reduction of specific energy consumption.

2. Based on the resources of individual countries and by joint work we must, through specialization and cooperation, speed up modernization of the production of processing industries. From this viewpoint, decisive significance attaches to the development of microelectronics, the introduction of the most up-to-date manufacturing technologies and the production of larger quantities of modern machine units, components, high-quality semi-products and chemical components.

3. We regard laying the foundations for a greater increase of agricultural and food industry production as a task that must not be delayed. In our opinion--as was noted at previous sessions as well--we have the appropriate natural endowments for this, but, to take better advantage of them, we must strengthen the scientific-primarily biological-research base that served agricultural development and ensure a modern industrial background--agricultural machinery of greater productivity and greater amounts and better quality chemicals. We must make provisions for introducing up-to-date production systems and processes. It is also indispensable for us--while making allowances for the changes affecting production's capital and basic material intensity--to make economic conditions more stimulating than at present.

Attuning Means of Implementation

Esteemed comrades, now that the requirements of a phase of intensive development have come to the fore, it is even more important than before that we refurbish means of implementation and better attune them to objectives. Proceeding from this, economic policy consultations, as well as the plan coordination system, should be developed further. Also, practical steps are needed as soon as possible for enhancing the effectiveness of scientific-technical cooperation.

In our opinion, that does not call for the establishment of new institutions, but for us to make the work of the existing organizations more effective, and to develop and initiate methods and forms of cooperation that ensure a close harmony between production requirements of effectiveness and technical development.

I would like to stress what we have expounded on several previous occasions: We are convinced that our further development of conditions concerning economic activity, prices and finances constitutes another prerequisite for more rapid progress.

In our opinion, the role of our common currency, the transferable ruble, and of credit transactions should be enhanced, because this, too, is an important prerequisite for expanding economic cooperation. Experiences show that we should pay more attention than heretofore also to shortening the decisionmaking process, resolving the tasks decided upon and new ones more rapidly, and developing direct contacts between enterprises and institutes.

Esteemed comrades, in light of the capitalist economic crisis, the results of the 10 years that have elapsed since the adoption of the comprehensive program make it even clearer and confirm even more what a tremendous force economic cooperation within CEMA means for our socialist economies, and what an appealing example it is to the world. It is our common task and at the same time duty to take advantage of this tremendous force even more effectively than heretofore for the good of the peoples of our fraternal countries. We are prepared to do so and will do our best to contribute through active work to promoting our common cause.

I declare that, in our opinion, the draft resolution submitted to the session is a good basis for further work and that, together with the utilization of the debate's lessons, we are prepared to support it.

Lazar 3 Jul Remarks

AU081344 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[Report on speech of Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in the 3 July debate of the 35th CEMA session in Sofia]

[Text] Coordination of the 1981-85 plans for the people's economies was the focal point of Gyorgy Lazar's speech. He noted that the coordination of plans is an important contribution to laying the foundations for the socialist economic construction in progress in the countries, and helps to a significant extent in implementing the common measures envisaged under the special cooperation programs. Expressing his appreciation of the fact that, as a result of joint work, it has become possible to renew and expand several highly significant cooperation agreements, and to develop new ones, he separately stressed that the Soviet Union's deliveries will continue to play a determining role in the raw material and energy imports of the Hungarian people's economy.

The Council of Ministers chairman reviewed the efforts that will be made in the Hungarian people's economy in 1981-85 to restore the country's foreign trade balance. He noted that, in spite of every effort, more time is needed to create better harmony between foreign trade and financial relations. Such a development of the situation does not depend on subjective intentions alone. According to experience, inclusion of external resources seems inevitable to enable a country with the endowments of Hungary to adapt itself to the radically changed world economic situation. Of course, he stressed, we are striving to keep the extent of this as small as possible.

The chairman of the government voiced his conviction that there is a realistic possibility for us to attain a more rapid development of trade than is presently envisaged among us, in spite of the moderation of the growth rate of the national economies. Therefore, although the coordination of plans has been concluded, the job cannot be regarded as complete.

Gyorgy Lazar described as an important task in further developing cooperation seeking out possibilities for a further mutual increase of already correlated trade. As he said, complete mutual fulfillment of the obligations laid down in agreements is the primary and cardinal prerequisite for this. He expressed the view that we could attain considerable progress--without any appreciable material investment--in the production of modern and high quality goods if we took better advantage of our existing intellectual and material potential. This could be one of the means, he said, enabling us to intensify our mutual turnover and parry the adverse effects of the world market

The Council of Ministers chairman underscored that accelerating the development of socialist integration constitutes the greatest reserve for expanding cooperation among the CEMA countries. He specified as the most important task concentrating our efforts--in addition to the indispensable development of the energy and raw material extracting sectors--even more on areas where, on the basis of favorable endowments of individual countries, development of specialization would in a relatively short time facilitate an increase of the relative ratio of modern products and satisfying mutual requirements on a high standard. He urged resolving tasks of cooperation in agriculture and the food industry, as well as with those manifest in the infrastructure, primarily in transportation.

At the end of his speech, with reference to the new tasks emerging in deepening integration, he said that it was necessary to further perfect economic and organizational prerequisites for cooperation.

Strougal 2 Jul Speech

AU061918 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

["Speech by Comrade L. Strougal," CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, at the 2 July meeting of the 35th CEMA session in Sofia. Capitalized passages published in boldface.]

[Text] Allow me, first of all, to greet our dear hosts, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by G. Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and to convey to the BCP, its Central Committee, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and all courageous and industrious Bulgarian people warm greetings from Comrade Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, the CPCZ Central Committee and our government.

We are meeting at a time of a gravely deteriorated international situation when some circles in the Western countries are casting doubt on the peace successes of the past decade. Detente has lost its momentum, especially in the militiary sphere, the number of dangers of war is growing and a new round of the arms race has begun. The countries of the socialist community are exposed to political interference, economic pressure and even military threats. Absolutely unacceptable voices are heard, especially from the United States.

THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE RECENT SESSION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET HAVE PITTED AGAINST THIS DEAD-END POLICY, WHICH JEOPARDIZES WORLD PEACE AND WANTS TO TURN BACK THE WHEEL OF HISTORY BY DECADES, A NEW PROGRAM OF PEACE-PROMOTING MEASURES, BECAUSE "PEACE IS THE PROPERTY OF ALL MANKIND AND IS TODAY THE MOST IMPORTANT CONDITION OF ITS EXISTENCE," AS IS STATED IN THE APPEAL TO THE PARLIAMENTS AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD. THAT IS WHY WE ENDORSE THE SOVIET UNION'S NEW APPEAL AND ARE READY TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT WE REJECT A COMPETITION IN THE STRENGTH OF TROOPS AND ARMS, WHICH DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT WE SHALL LET OURSELVES BE PUSHED INTO THE POSITION OF THE WEAKER. ON THE CONTRARY, WE SHALL CONTINUE TO EXPAND OUR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POTENTIAL AND INCREASE OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITY. AFTER ALL, THE STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IS OUR GREATEST CERTAINTY OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

Stable and Dynamic Development

The results achieved in the last 10 years in implementing the tasks arising from the comprehensive program have conclusively proved the correctness and timely nature of the joint decision to work out a long-term program of developing socialist economic integration that was adopted by the general secretaries of the central committees of the CEMA member countries' communist and workers parties at the council's 23d (extraordinary) session in 1969.

Owing to that decision, our community maintained its stable and dynamic development also in the seventies.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND OF THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF A NEW TYPE, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM, STAND OUT WHEN COMPARED WITH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CAPITALIST PART OF THE WORLD. The fact that the decisive part of the CEMA member countries' import needs is covered by mutual deliveries, especially from the Soviet Union, makes it easier to overcome the negative impact of the world capitalist economy's development.

We regard as particularly positive the fact that through joint efforts a considerable number of projects have been built within the integration program whose output contributes to ensuring on a long-term basis the CEMA member countries' needs in fuels, energy and some crucial raw materials. By the end of 1980 the Czechoslovak side spent almost 880 million in transferable rubles on those important projects. In addition, at home we have built the second arm of the transit gas pipeline for transporting natural gas from the Soviet Union to the GDR and some West European countries, and new facilities in our metallurgical and engineering enterprises, especially for the production of nuclear powerplant installations.

The deliveries of machinery and equipment and chemical and other products, effected on the basis of agreements on specialization and production sharing, have become an important factor in developing integration. An undeniable progress has also been achieved in other areas: Scientific-technical cooperation has expanded and intensified, the planning process has been enhanced, and the legal and organizational basis for multilateral cooperation has been consolidated.

THE POSITIVE RESULTS AND EXPERIENCES ACQUIRED IN IMPLEMENTING THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM, TOGETHER WITH THE TASKS OF FURTHER INTENSIFYING COOPERATION IN THE EIGHTIES THAT WE ARE TO APPROVE AT THIS SESSION, REPRESENT A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO BUILDING AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN OUR HOMELAND. WE CONTINUE TO PROCEED FROM THE PRINCIPLE THAT COOPERATION WITH THE CEMA MEMBER STATES, ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET UNION, REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY'S DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT BY PURSUING A WELL-CONSIDERED DIVISION OF LABOR, COMBINING OUR FORCES AND RESOURCES, AND COORDINATING OVERALL ECONOMIC POLICY WE CAN MARKEDLY CONTRIBUTE BOTH TO ACHIEVING THE GOALS LAID DOWN BY THE 16TH CPCZ CONGRESS AND FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC WEIGHT OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE FRATERNAL STATES.

Intensifying Specialization and Production Sharing

IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME WE OUGHT TO JOINTLY RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS THAT ARE STILL OPEN CONCERNING THE PERIOD UNTIL 1980 AND FOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON INTENSIFYING AND EXPANDING COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF SPECIALIZATION AND PRODUCTION SHARING. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO MAKE THE TRANSITION IN SOCIALIST INTEGRATION FROM INDIVIDUAL PARTIAL PROJECTS TO JOINT SOLUTIONS COMPRISING THE LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT OF ENTIRE FIELDS OR BRANCHES ON THE BASIS OF JOINTLY WORKED OUT PROGRESS AND TECHNICAL CONCEPTS.

Czechoslovak organizations have taken part, within the framework of implementing the comprehensive program, in solving designated scientific-technical problems. These solutions have made it possible to speed up development and master production in important branches such as nuclear powerplant installations or computer technology for the standardized system of electronic computers. A considerable contribution has also been made by [Czecholsovak] cooperation in developing facilities for electron lithography, numerically controlled machining centers and assembly modules for numerically controlled machinery, and in the sphere of new livestock breeds and developing and utilizing new grain varieties. The extent of our participation is also borne out by the fact that in the past 5-year period Czechoslovak organizations received from the other CEMA member countries more than 20,000 complete sets of scientific-technical documentation, which is more than twice as much as in the 1971-1975 period, and placed about the same amount of complete sets at the disposal of their partners.

WITH EXTRAORDINARY ATTENTION WE HAVE BEEN FULFILLING OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THE SRV, THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AND THE MPR BY PROVIDING THEM WITH SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL DOCUMENTATION, BY EXTENDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THEM AND TRAINING SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CADRES.

However, we are aware that despite these good results there are several problems as regards multilateral cooperation. For example, a considerable number of machines, equipment, materials and technological processes have been developed, but only a part of them has been put into production. Another thing that harms the cause is that when implementing these results of scientific-technical development, the production sphere still does not make adequate use of specialization and cooperation, with the result that the new production does not cover the needs of the entire community. The research and development spheres are not being entrusted with tasks yielding top world standards in their final effect, and also comparing our products and technologies with world parameters is not normal practice.

THE FACT THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IN ALL OUR STATES IS BASED ON MOBILIZING AND MAKING USE OF INTENSIVE FACTORS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, IN WHICH THE DECISIVE PLACE BELONGS TO IMPLEMENTING THE LATEST SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL FINDINGS IN PRACTICE, REQUIRES OUR JOINTLY DETERMINING THE PRIORITIES AND TASKS OF OUR SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION, AND CONCENTRATING EFFORTS AND RESOURCES ON RESOLVING THEM AND ELIMINATING THE PERSISTING SHORTCOMINGS.

A consistent introduction of the proposed measures into the practical activity of the CEMA bodies must be regarded as the most important thing now. Involved, above all, are the principles of comprehensive planning and cooperation in the uninterrupted cycle research-development-production-use, and a legally binding contractual confirmation of cooperation and increasing the accountability of organizations for the fulfillment of assumed tasks.

To Perfect the Forms and Methods of Cooperation

We appreciate the progress which has been achieved in developing the mechanism of cooperation, particularly in joint planning activity. However, we realize that the current period requires a further perfection of the forms and methods of cooperation.

WE FULLY SUPPORT LEONID BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS THAT THE COORDINATION OF THE PLANS BE COMPLEMENTED BY THE COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, THAT WE STRIVE FOR THE CONVERGENCE OF THE STRUCTURES OF ECONOMIC MECHANISMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR STATES' BODIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

It is our view that when elaborating these proposals, increased attention should be paid to coordinating capital construction. It would be useful to expediently combine the new capital construction in the individual countries within the framework of the entire community to avoid duplicating capacities, to eliminate bottlenecks in production and to reduce dependence on imports from the capitalist states. Such coordination also would contribute to intensifying the international investment bank activity.

IN OUR COOPERATION, THERE ALSO EXISTS CONSIDERABLE SCOPE FOR A DEEPER ACTIVITY OF THE VALUE CATEGORIES [HODNOTOVE KATEGORIE]. Here we have in mind especially the system of the multilateral clearing of accounts, within the framework of which multilateral economic relations have not substantially developed thus far. Untapped potential also exists in the sphere of price setting. It is necessary to even further perfect the setting of contractual prices with an eye on the development of world prices and on the needs of our community. What is involved is that prices should be utilized better than to date as an objective yardstick of value, and contribute more to intensifying the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Also connected with these issues are the problems of real [realne] exchange rates of our national currencies, including the follow-up economic instruments and their specific effect on the economy. It is desirable that the sphere of price setting and real exchange rates by examined as an entity.

ALSO, WE REGARD AS INEVITABLE PERFECTING THE SYSTEMS OF MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IN THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRIES, A MATTER WHICH WILL--WITHOUT DOUBT--ALSO POSITIVELY SHOW IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION.

The relations of our countries and of the entire community toward third countries remain an important sphere of cooperation. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR PEACE POLICY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING COUTRIES, HOWEVER, GIVING PRIORITY TO RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES THAT HAVE A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION.

In the course of the past 5-year plan, we gave assistance to more than 70 developing countries and national liberation movements. In the first place, this was gratis material assistance to beat back the attacks of international imperialism and external aggressors, and to reconstruct economies destroyed as a result of colonial oppression. We have also helped many countries to overcome the consequences of the catastrophies of nature. Next to that, Czechoslovakia cooperated with the developing countries in construction of new plants, in prospecting for new sources of raw materials and took part in the training of skilled workers, technicians and intelligentsia. Czechoslovak experts were active in 43 developing countries, and students are in our secondary and university-level schools and thousands of trainees in our factories from more than 30 of these countries and national liberation movements.

We are also willing to continue to develop trade, economic and scientific-technical contacts with the capitalist states on the basis of equality, and are convinced that such an approach will benefit both sides. That, however, requires that our partners abandon their discriminatory practices and not try foisting unilateral conditions on us.

This fully applies also to their economic groupings, as well as to the CEMA-EEC negotiations.

WE ALSO REGARD AS NECESSARY CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL-LEGAL POSITION OF CEMA IN VIEW OF ITS ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY.

Despite the complexity of the tasks of economic and social development facing our individual states, and despite the exactingness of the conditions in which we will implement this development, it is within our potential to master the planned tasks of economic and social development if we make use of the opportunities presented by our further cooperation and a purposeful unfolding of the integration process.

Strougal 3 Jul Remarks

AU061900 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jul 81 pp 1-7

[Ladislav Alster Sofia dispatch on the second day of the 35th CEMA session in Sofia on 3 July: "Cooperation Will Speed Up Intensification of Economy"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, 3 Jul--Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier and head of the Czechoslovak delegation, spoke in the discussion. He began by stressing the CSSR'S basic goals and intentions in the current period. He called the results achieved in plan coordination an important stabilizing element of the national economy of the socialist community. This plan coordination will remain in future the basic form of cooperation in the realm of planning activity, L. Strougal said, and its significance for the development of overall economic relations and the integration processes of our community will be yet more enhanced if, in harmony with Leonid Brezhnev's proposals, it is complemented by coordinating the entire economic policy.

In a further part of his speech, Lubomir Strougal submitted certain proposals for further deepening the cooperation of CEMA member states and intensifying the development of their economies. Other representatives of the CEMA member states also spoke in the discussion.

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS DEPART AFTER CEMA SESSION

AU051928 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] The following delegations, which participated as observers in the 35th CEMA session, left our country today:

The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, headed by Roberto de Almeyda, secretary of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Central Committee; the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, headed by 'Abdolmajid Sarboland, deputy prime minister; the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, headed by Khambou Soumisai, head of the labor and wage committee; and the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, headed by Marcelino dos Santos, secretary and member of the Frelimo permanent political committee.

Among those who saw the delegates off at Sofia Airport was Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council; Rumen Serbezov, minister of light industry; as well as Yanko Markov, minister of forests, and forest industry, as well as high-ranking functionaries of the Council of Ministers.

Fadeyev Departure

AU061510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1330 GMT 6 Jul 81

[Summary] Nikolay Fadeyev, CEMA secretary, left Bulgaria today. At Sofia Airport he was seen off by (?Andrey Lukanov), deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member.

Vietnamese Delegation Departs

AU081421 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1350 GMT 8 Jul 81

[Text] The Vietnamese delegation, headed by Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and vice chairman of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Council of Ministers, left our country today. The delegation had participated in the 35th session of CEMA held in Sofia.

At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union.

GDR ISSUES STATEMENT ON ACTIVITIES OF CEMA DELEGATION

LD081100 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 8 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 8 Jul (ADN)--The realization of the comprehensive program of socialist integration adopted 10 years ago has contributed fundamentally to the greater integration of the national economies of the CEMA member countries and to the strengthening of the economic and scientific-technical potential of the fraternal countries. This is the conclusion of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the GDR Council of Ministers in a statement on the report of the 35th CEMA session which took place in Sofia 2-4 July. They approved the activity of the GDR delegation led by Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee.

The results of coordinating the 5-year plans for 1981-85 form an important basis for fulfilling the set economic and sociopolitical tasks, the statement also says.

The statement assesses that the agreements signed at the CEMA session in the sphere of microelectronics and on cooperation on the development of sugar and citrus fruit production in the Republic of Cuba as further important steps in realizing CEMA's long-term program.

It is also noted that in the future the deepening of cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries is an essential prerequisite for the consistent realization of the economic strategy determined by the 10th SED Congress. The SED Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers confirmed the measures necessary for the realization of the adopted resolutions.

BULGARIAN DELEGATE VIEWS PROGRESS IN SEVENTIES

AU021056 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)--"The CEMA complex programme has marked the start of qualitatively new stage in the development of mutual cooperation, of the different socialist countries and the socialist community as a whole", said Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate-member of the ministerial council of Bulgaria and Bulgaria's standing representative at the CEMA, in an interview to RABOTNICHESKO DELO today. "As a result of its implementation, the average national income of the CEMA member-states in the 1971-1980 period has increased by 66 per cent, the total industrial output by 184 percent and the engineering output has increased over 2.5 times. Trade exchange has grown 3.3 times and the proportion of the specialized production in it has exceeded 36 percent", noted Mr Lukanov.

"Thanks to socialist integration, and particularly to the international approach of the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state, the other CEMA member-states have succeeded to neutralize to a great extent the negative impact of the acute raw material and energy crisis in the capitalist economy and to fulfill in general lines the socio-economic targets outlined for the decade", stressed Mr Lukanov.

Dwelling on Bulgaria's participation in the integration processes in the seventies, Mr Lukanov noted that, irrespective of the difficult international economic conditions, Bulgaria has had a stable socioeconomic development and proceeded to the construction of the developed socialist society. Realized were deep qualitative changes in the structure of the national production with priority to such leading branches as electronics, mechanical engineering, chemistry. At that, those production spheres in which the integration processes have been unfolding on the widest scale are developing at the highest rates.

It is known that in modern Bulgaria it is difficult to find a production oriented at meeting the national demands alone. Thanks to the good use of the possibilities offered by the socialist economic integration, Bulgaria's structurally important branch-industries measure up in scale and serial production to the level of the leading world industries.

As Mr Lukanov underlined, Bulgaria has a foremost place in the socialist community in the rates of increasing [word indistinct].

BTA REPORTS SOFIA CEMA SESSION COMMUNIQUE

AU062000 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 6 Jul 81

[BTA report on communique of CEMA session held in Sofia from 2 through 4 Jul]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jul (BTA)--A communique on the 35th CEMA session held in the Bulgarian capital from July 2 to 4, this year, is given for publication here. Delegations of the CEMA member-states and of Yugoslavia were present at the session. It was also attended by the delegations of Angola, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Laos, Mozambique and Ethiopia as observers.

The session was chaired by Mr Grisha Filipov, prime minister of Bulgaria.

At the plenary sittings were discussed the reports of the CEMA Executive Committee on the implementation of the 1971 complex program of the community and the talks pertaining to the further deepening and improvement of cooperation in the eighties, as well as on the council's work at the 34th session.

Discussed was also a report of the CEMA committee for cooperation in planning on the results of coordination of the national economic plans in the 1981-1985 period. A report on the further improvement of the joint work in science and technology was submitted by the CEMA committee for techno-scientific cooperation.

It was noted at the session, reads the communique, that in the past 10 years the CEMA member-countries, developing and deepening their cooperation on the basis of principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, noninterference in the internal affairs of the countries, absolute equality, mutual advantage and comradely assistance, have implemented successfully the CEMA complex program.

It is emphasized further in the document that the realization of the coordinated course of deepening mutual cooperation and development of integration, developed by the communist and workers' parties in the CEMA countries, has been aided by, on the one hand, the unification of the efforts of the CEMA countries in solving the most topical national economic problems, the strengthening of their power, political unity, cohesion and international prestige, while on the other, the dynamic, stable development of the national economies and bringing their levels at par, the raising of the living standard of the people in each of the CEMA countries.

The implementation of the CEMA complex program, the communique reads further, has raised on a qualitatively new level cooperation within the community. Its planned basis has been considerably improved, it has been diversified with new forms, supplementing and making concrete the CEMA complex program and, above all, it has been enriched with the long-term target cooperation programs and with a string of long-term bilateral programs on specialization and industrial joint production. The heads of the delegations of the CEMA countries stressed that their achievements are indivisibly linked with the leading role of the communist and workers' parties, with the creative application of the objective plans of construction of socialism by each party to the concrete conditions in their countries, the document reads further.

The socialist principles of interrelations, the considerably more favorable economic conditions of cooperation than on the world market, the steady economic ties formed on a planned basis ensure to the CEMA countries real advantages in the development of production forces, in the solving of socioeconomic tasks.

The trade between the community countries has increased 3.3-fold in the past 10 years. With mutual deliveries they meet to a great extent their needs in machinery and equipment, oil, iron ore and consumer goods.

The session noted the important role of the Soviet Union for cooperation within the CEMA framework. The Soviet Union, is stressed in the communique, supplies large shipments of machinery, fuels and raw materials, techno-scientific and production know-how, a wide market for their production.

A positive assessment was given to the joint construction of big economic projects, the development of multilateral specialization and industrial joint production, especially of installations for nuclear energetics, computer equipment, sea and river vessels, equipment for chemistry and petro-chemistry, for the electrical engineering. In 1980 the relative proportion of specialized production in the trade with machinery and equipment between the community countries [word indistinct] 23 percent. The "Interkosmos" program is being successfully implemented.

The session underlined that the goals of cooperation laid down in the complex program preserve their topicality in the future, too. This pertains in particular to the increased production efficiency and labor productivity, the optimal meeting of the future demands of the national economies with fuels, energy, raw materials, modern machinery, foodstuffs, etc, of bringing closer and equalizing the level of the economic development of the different countries.

Surveying the results of coordination of the plans for the 1981-1985 period, the session paid attention to a new moment--its linking with the measures laid down in the long-term cooperation programs.

A coordinated plan for integrated initiatives in the 1981-1985 period was approved, providing for joint construction of economic projects, in development of specialization and standardization and measures of bringing the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia to a higher level.

The session outlined measures for realization of the general intensification of the economies, adopted by the countries, on the basis of techno-scientific achievements, decreasing the consumption of energy and raw materials and setting up effective economic structures. The session maintains that the joint development of complete plants for [word indistinct] raw materials, the construction of main gas pipe-lines, of modern means of the production processes control, etc should be stepped up. During the session Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed an intergovernmental agreement on creating an integral unified center for electronic elements for the radioelectronic installations, communication and computing equipment.

The necessity of further improving and raising the efficiency of techno-scientific cooperation, of its linking with specialization and joint production was pointed out. Joint development of priority economic problems was recommended.

It is also said in the communique that a multilateral general agreement was signed on complex development of the sugar production and the production and industrial processing of citrus fruits in Cuba. The interested sides also signed agreement on setting up an international scientific team to carry out scientific research into combating corrosion under the conditions of the tropical climate.

The document reads further: The CEMA member-countries are firmly against the imperialist policy of the arms race, of exacerbation of the international climate. They stress the right of each nation to determine its fate on its own, without any external interference. The session expressed full support to the appeal to the parliaments and the nationals of the world made by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

It is stated in the document that the CEMA member-countries stand for promoting equitable, mutually advantageous economic cooperation with the other socialist countries, with the developing countries and with the capitalist countries. In compliance with their peaceful foreign policy they consistently support the efforts for reorganization of the international economic relations on a democratic and equitable basis; for establishment of a new international economic order.

The successful development of the CEMA member-countries' cooperation with Yugoslavia was underlined in the document. A multilateral cooperation with Finland, Iraq and Mexico is also carried out. The CEMA economic ties with Angola, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Laos, Mozambique, Ethiopia and other developing countries are being strengthened. Now CEMA is rendering economic assistance to 90 developing countries and the credits granted to them in the past 10 years have increased 2.0 times.

Proceeding from the principles of peaceful coexistence of the states of different social systems, the heads of the delegations reaffirmed the readiness of the CEMA member-countries to develop stable economic and techno-scientific ties with the capitalist states, without discrimination, under strict observance of the undertaken obligations, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

The 35th CEMA session has proceeded in an atmosphere of unanimity, mutual understanding and friendly cooperation, the communique says in conclusion.

PETROV ATRICLE DENOUNCES POLISH ANTI-SOVIETISM

AU100851 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 81 p 4

[Ivan Petrov article: "Poland: The True Face of Anti-Sovietism"]

[Text] News from Poland about a constantly rising tide of anti-Sovietism is increasing steadily. The press and radio are reporting on a number of actual manifestations of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces. Monuments to Soviet soldiers, who died for the liberation of Poland from Hitler's fascism, are being desecrated. Anti-Soviet slogans are being written--posters, leaflets, bulletins and pamphlets of this kind are being propagated. The champions of anti-Sovietism are appearing on movie screens. They appear unhindered on the stages of theaters and music halls....

It is true that such manifestations do not remain unnoticed by Polish public opinion. Particularly, since the 11th PZPR Plenum, public denouncements of such actions have taken place. In many organizations resolutions are being adopted pointing out that these are the deeds of irresponsible adventurers, that the broad people's masses and their organizations have nothing in common with such excesses and utterly reject them.

Are such manifestations accidental and innocuous?

Numerous facts confirm that in this case the concern is not about "manifestations by a small group of irresponsible individuals," as they are usually described, but rather about actions committed by organized political forces and ideological trends deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, hostile to fraternal relations with the socialist community countries, as they exist in Poland. As the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum stressed, "those forces are conducting political campaigns, they are threatening the stability of the state, its security and sovereignty. The purpose of that trend and those forces is to seize power and liquidate socialism."

Anti-Sovietism has been put into operation. This is the most important ideological and political weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie and of its supporters, represented by social reformism and revisionism.

What about the facts?

As to the aforementioned facts, we can describe them as so-called surface manifestations of anti-Sovietism, but in addition to them there are more or less fully organized political-ideological platforms and concrete movements and actions aimed at fully implementing such platforms. The forces backing them are quite varied and are composed of former and present bourgeois exploiters, reactionary church leaders, petty bourgeois radicals, social opportunists, nationalists and revisionists.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, in order to avoid repeating ourselves, let us just mention a few of them.

"In the USSR there are disintegration processes, which, in the long run, will entail the disintegration of its whole system"--this is what J. Kuron, the notorious leader of the "Committee for Workers Defense" [KOR] dreamed about at a press conference in Szczecin on 16 January 1981. He is one of the ideological inspirers of Solidarity.

At the beginning of March 1981 he was introduced to French readers on the pages of the periodical Paris MATCH. In an interview for that magazine he stated: "Because of the danger of a foreign invasion by Soviet tanks, I am in favor of accepting the party's leading role in the state, but within strictly determined limits." Dealing with the relations between Poland and the USSR he said: "The alliance is a relation based on military strength. Military strength is necessary in order to question that alliance. Because there is no such military strength..."

The dots speak for themselves. If somebody should be found...such as NATO for example... then this "protector" of the workers will try to "question" the alliance with the Soviet Union.

To serve the alliance with the Soviet Union--this is the ultimate goal of the "Confederation of Independent Poland"--that and the demand that the "declaration of the Yalta, Potsdam and Tehran treaties should become invalid." This is an item included in the 13-item program of Edmund Baluka, the leader of the strike committee at the "Adolf Warski" shipyard on the Baltic coast, which in 1970, after having served various foreign diversionist centers in the West for 8 years, returned to Poland on 21 April 1981 and is now freely enjoying his life in Szczecin.

On 2 February 1981 at a meeting with Solidarity representatives, Adam Michnik, one of the main speakers from KOR, developed the thesis that the "system in Poland is imposed by the Soviet Union with the agreement of the great powers and therefore Poland's sovereignty is limited by the USSR's state and political interests."

Bulletin number 5 of 1981, issued by Solidarity, in the Kalisz voivodship states, "the authorities are fully responsible..for the policy, as a result of which our country is becoming increasingly dependent on our neighbor states." On 31 May the organ of the Socialist Party in Italy, AVANTI, carried an interview with Solidarity leaders Lech Walesa, A. Kolodziej, Kuron, and E. Lipinski. According to Edward Lipinski, one of the KOR founders and members of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as well as chairman of the Polish economists organization, the basic reason for the crisis in Poland allegedly is the bad planning system implemented on the "Soviet model." He states, "The Soviet system of planning is undoubtedly the most harmful element of economic development, and that is a fact! He further asserts that "the political system, based on the Soviet model, has undermined any manifestation of freedom."

Only a few months later, at a meeting in Radom, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa sarcastically stated, "The authorities are looking out for antisocialist forces, for enemies of the political system and for enemies of our allies. I travel quite a lot throughout the country. I could not find such people. I think that perhaps you could help me (?!)"

What do the above-cited cases indicate? What about the pamphlets and hysterical celebration in memory of Marshal Pilsudski, organized by Solidarity? Is it perhaps necessary to enumerate them all?

The particularly alarming fact about the anti-Soviet manifestations is that no adequate measures are being adopted against them. There is even more: Various forces are attempting to sow hostility and to undermine the Polish people's trust in the USSR--the first country of workers and peasants--and this fact may inflict irreparable harm to the education of young generations and to the Polish people's future. There are even attempts, in full contradiction to the facts, to make the USSR and the other socialist states no less than responsible for the difficult economic situation in Poland. These are particularly dangerous insinuations of anti-Sovietism.

Actually there is nothing new about all this from the viewpoint of world class struggle and considered from the angle of historical development. Anti-Sovietism appeared later than anticommunism and it is its product to a considerable extent. Further, anti-Sovietism today is the basic nucleus and essence of anticommunism. Anti-Sovietism exerts an increasing influence upon shaping political doctrines, mapping out programs, and on concocting concrete political and ideological actions of imperialism. A typical example is the political trend of the present U.S. administration and of its supporters from other NATO countries. Anti-communism is the main trend in the ideology and policy of clericalism and Zionism.

Anti-Sovietism pursues a dual goal: first--with the help of slanders, lies, falsifications and misinformation--to discredit Soviet experience and to undermine its prestige, to diminish its force of attraction among progressive and revolutionary forces in our epoch and to alienate them from it; second, to undermine relations and ties of the Soviet Union and the CPSU with the international communist movement, with the national liberation movement, and, above all with the other socialist community countries.

With the help of the imperialist bourgeoisie, a number of representatives of social reformism and rightwing as well as "leftwing" revisionism are gathering under the banner of anti-Sovietism. They are also submitting a number of aspects of Soviet reality to international criticism and falsifications and are doing the same regarding life in the community of socialist countries. Such criticism is cunningly used by bourgeois propaganda for its goals. Undoubtedly certain statements and evaluations made by certain communist parties' representatives, which, regardless of subjective goals and intentions of their authors, have nothing in common with true, constructive criticism of real problems in building the new system, are certainly likely to further fan anti-Sovietism.

Anti-Sovietism in the West is called "Sovietology" in order to make it appear to be some sort of science. Various "Sovietology" institutions and centers represent a peculiar kind of industry, fabricating ideals and concepts aimed at discrediting scientific communism; their main products are slanders against the Soviet Union and against the countries where real socialism exists.

We can describe as quite significant the "Second World Congress of Research on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" held in Garmisch Partenkirchen, FRG, in autumn 1980. The congress was attended by 1,500 participants from the most well-known "Sovietology" institutes and centers. They listened to about 400 reports and papers. We can judge the essence of the problems discussed by the titles of the working sections at the congress. They read, "Economic Reform and Government in Eastern Europe," "Trade Unions and Labor in Eastern Europe," "Social Changes and Political Participation in Eastern Europe," "Russian-Polish Relations," "The Non-Marxist Ideology in Poland," "How Stable Are the Contemporary Socialist Economic Systems?" and so forth. In all reports and statements the idea is promoted that the main strength of struggle against communism must now focus on the practical political aspects of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Economic matters in real socialism are taking an increasingly important place in anti-Soviet propaganda. They include subjects connected with the interpretation of socialist property, the goal of which is to prove that the property is by no means socialist, but represents just another form of "monopolist," "imperialist" and "exploitive" property. The problems of economic development are speculated upon and the picture of "inefficient functioning," "decreasing rates of development," "shortages of consumer goods," and "lowering" the masses' living standards is insinuated.

All this is subjected to theses about the existence of an economic "crisis" in the countries of real socialism similar to that in the capitalist world, but of course, in much more acute form. The citizen of the "free world," of course, must "understand" that the crisis in the capitalist world is not a result of the system, but a common factor characteristic of contemporary society.

The other large group of problems worked out by the ideologists of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are connected with criticism of the political system of real socialism. They include the issues of state and democracy, issues pertaining to the leading role of the communist party, the trade unions and other social organizations, etc. Their interpretation, involving accusations of "totalitarianism" and "institutionalism," of "bureaucracy" and "dogmatism," results from attempts to slander and discredit Leninism. "Pluralism" is described as an alternative system, and despite avoiding a direct appeal to restore capitalism, bourgeois democracy is exalted as the most precious political asset and as a sort of lofty ideal. Great attention is devoted to nationalism in an effort to sow distrust among the socialist countries and nations against each other, in an attempt to encourage separatism within the worldwide socialist system and within the international communist movement. For this purpose, biased theoretical analysis is done on problems of sovereignty, which are such sensitive matters for each nation, and usually the sovereignty of the socialist countries is described as "limited," their independence is described as permanently threatened and their national pride and dignity are characterized as "violated," etc.

The bourgeois ideologists, by every means and with all their efforts, encourage the construction of so-called "models" of socialism and the invention of "national socialism," which reject the general laws of building socialism. Not limiting themselves to dismembering socialism according to geographical and national criteria, some of them describe it according to secondary phenomena--from the system of leadership and economic management to the various forms of "freedom." So-called models of "market-oriented" [pazaren], "democratic," "humanitarian" and so forth, socialism, opposed to so-called "static," "bureaucratic," socialism are being made up--these being concepts invented by the bourgeois ideologists themselves. The general characteristic feature of such "models" is division between private and common property, idealization of the empiric concept and opposing of this concept to the most important basic rules of building socialism. The paradoxical situation in this case is that those people mostly do not see the elementary truth: namely, that those "models" of socialism are invariably praised as positive that, in effect, defend capitalism or condone the necessity of restoring it, that serve anti-Soviet propaganda and the struggle against real socialism.

Anti-Sovietism is an expression of fear at the increasing influence of the historical experience of the Soviet Union upon the hearts and minds of millions of people, of its immensely attractive example showing how to live in a new society without social injustice, exploitation, oppression, social inequality and without private property. This anti-Sovietism is relying on the subconscious and spontaneous opposition of the petit bourgeois elements against any encroachment on "their own" property, upon the organic and sometimes hysterical fear of the owners of private property, who are mortally afraid of the socialist way of life built on the principles of collectivism.

It is no mere coincidence that the ideologists and promoters of anti-Sovietism are orienting themselves toward a systematic impact and influence upon the minds of petit bourgeois elements, that they are striving to create and keep up in their instincts and in their deepest subconsciousness the most primitive prejudices against the Soviet Union, the Soviet system and way of life.

In connection with the "Afghan issue," the Iranian revolution and events in Poland, the exceptionally intense theoretical activity of bourgeois propaganda is evolving around issues of religion and atheism, around a distorted description of the policy of socialist countries regarding freedom of conscience and religious faith.

The fact of posing such questions and the way in which they are interpreted is aimed at exerting emotional influence on socio-psychological, national and religious feelings of the masses, at provoking a so-called "stress" in their usually untroubled [povsednevno] minds.

Increasing speculations are made about the changes in the class structure of socialist society, and in particular about changes within the workers class, the intelligentsia, and youth. With the help of trade unionist, avant guardist, and technocratic theories, efforts are made aimed at opposing the social classes and strata to each other, and all of them--to socialism. In the long run the final goal is to show the "failure" of real socialism and to justify the right of various opportunist models to exist, as well as to establish capitalism--in a more distant future.

Great efforts are also aimed at proving, in particular through the example of Poland, that differences and even controversies exist among interests of the workers class, on the one hand, and the socialist state, on the other hand, and to establish on this basis a peculiar kind of "socialist trade unionism."

A characteristic feature of the tactics of anticommunism is the collective approach to events and phenomena in the countries of real socialism, which affords the opportunity of selecting individual facts and summing them up and to distribute them within a certain system in order to create the appearance of a well organized, typical, law-governed process.

It is further promoted by glossing in silence over the real succcesses of the socialist countries, or by distorting those successes. Such an approach is preferred by the ideological enemies of socialism because it creates the illusion of a certain "objectivity."

The contemporary bourgeoisie of imperialism and its ideologists use anti-Sovietism as an antipode to socialist internationalism, which is their main weapon in opposing the socialist countries to each other and each of them to the Soviet Union.

Preserving its class character and anticommunist essence as an ideology, the policy of anti-Sovietism is changing its forms, methods and tactics according to the relative balance of forces. However, its various forms, from the very primitive ones belonging to the "stone age," to the subtly refined ones, and from the drastically gross ones to the skillfully veiled ones--have always been interwoven and have complemented each other at all times. The methods and tunes of their concrete manifestation may change, the objects and the degree of sharpness in the attacks may vary, but the deeply characteristic features of anti-Sovietism never change. The perfidious methods of ideological mimicry are particularly actively applied. Disguise and the striving to undermine socialist countries from the inside, to "erode" the working people's consciousness--the political and economic structure of socialist society--and attempts to sow distrust of the Soviet Union and the new type of international relations in the socialist community--these are the most frequently applied methods.

Anti-Sovietism in most recent times is characterized by a considerable rapprochement of trends toward merging all its anticommunist, bourgeois-reformist, and revisionist forms. The struggle against the CPSU and the USSR is concealed behind the benevolent mask of "concern" about the "perfection" and "improvement" of socialism. This is, above all, a characteristic feature of anti-Sovietism in countries where the socialist changes have not yet been finally concluded. Paradoxically enough, as historical experience shows, the trends for "national," "independent," "models" of socialism, different from the Soviet one, usually manifest themselves in countries where a considerable portion of the economic sectors and of the population have by far not yet been involved in socialist production relations and have not yet grasped Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In order to liquidate communism, people are increasingly relying on the further expansion of revisionism in its most varied forms. Nationalism of the anti-Soviet brand is particularly relied upon. The developed opportunistic elements in the communist parties are offered a peculiar kind of deal by the bourgeois ideologists. As Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stated on this subject, they are told, "now, try to prove your anti-Sovietism to us and we will be ready to declare that you are the true 'Marxists' and are adopting truly 'independent positions.'"

We can say, as a result of all this, that anti-Sovietism is varied and has many faces. Against the background of that truth, on the basis of what is happening in Poland today, we are justified in asking the question: Why is it that anti-Sovietism has become the nucleus of anticommunism and the unifying platform for trends that are so different from each other?

The answer lies in the place and role of the Soviet Union and in the revolutionary process, in social progress, as a whole. Thanks to the existing historical achievements, to its prestige and its tremendous economic, military and cultural potential, to its consistent internationalist policy and thanks to the very fact of its existence, the Soviet Union is playing a decisive role and exerting a decisive influence upon the basic processes of contemporary international development.

The Soviet Union, above all, is a champion of peace in the struggle for international detente, and for disarmament. Under the leadership of the CPSU, a peace program was established that received the approval and support of the socialist community and of all the progressive and democratic public throughout the world. The Soviet Union is the main factor of settling this most decisive issue of vital importance for all peoples.

The Soviet Union is the pioneer of the development of world socialism. The alliance with the Soviet Union is a guarantee for sovereignty, independence and security of all socialist countries. It stops any attempts of imperialism to interfere in their domestic affairs. At the same time the USSR plays a decisive role in the process of building and developing socialism in the socialist community countries. Thanks to the economic drawing closer together with the USSR, thanks to cooperation and integration with that country, the socialist community states are capable of keeping up stable and high rates of speed in their development, to build enterprises with modern technical equipment, to compensate for their own shortage of raw materials and to guarantee markets for their production, thus reducing the negative influence of the capitalist crisis cycles to a minimum.

The historical role assigned to friendship and cooperation with the USSR most convincingly reveals itself in the example of Poland. Over 600,000 Soviet soldiers gave their lives on Polish territory for the liberation of that country from Hitler's fascism. In the most difficult years of the war, as well as throughout the postwar period, the USSR stood for a strong and independent Poland as its ally. Thanks to all that, Poland was guaranteed reliable borders, it was resurrected from the ruins of war, it became an industrialized country and created an economic potential that ensured its place among the few dozens of most developed countries in the world.

The importance of Soviet assistance in these difficult times for Poland is obvious to anyone. In August 1980 alone, that assistance amounted to a total of $4.2 billion. In 1980 the USSR ensured 79 percent of Poland's needs for oil, 77 percent for iron ore, 78 percent for cotton, 67 percent for asbestos and 100 percent for natural gas and timber. In addition, the deliveries were supplied at prices much lower than those existing on world markets. In 1981 nearly 100 percent of Poland's needs for oil were covered by the Soviet Union. In the first 4 months of 1981, Soviet deliveries to Poland exceeded a total of 26.3 percent of the value of deliveries during the same period of 1980. In the case of raw materials and consumer goods the total exceeded 41.5 percent. At the same time the Westerners granting credits to Poland are bargaining about the binding conditions that they should impose on that country so that debt payments may be postponed.

The result of all this is that, according to its social-class essence, anti-Sovietism is an expression of the class hatred of the bourgeois imperialists against the country that was the first to break the chains of imperialism and the first to free itself with a victorious socialist revolution, the first to build socialism and implement the transition from socialism to the higher stage of communist society. It is actually a crusade against the fortress of peace, freedom and independence of all peoples.

Although mainly directed against the USSR, anti-Sovietism pursues an even more universal goal, to discredit real socialism as a whole, with a view to gradually disintegrating and liquidating it. Historical experience convincingly proves that it is impossible to successfully build socialism and at the same time declare oneself against the first and most powerful country of real socialism, which serves as a reliable support of the worldwide socialist system. That is not all: Any attempt to underestimate or ignore the international significance of the revolutionary path taken by the Soviet Union, or to propagate nationalist doctrines, paths and "methods" of socialist revolution and building socialism, any attempt to disregard the common rules of the revolutionary reorganization of society--which apply to all countries and peoples and which have found their most thorough historical expression in the tremendous experience of the Soviet Union--means to inflict a blow against the interests and achievements of world socialism and against the individual socialist countries, against the national detachment of the workers class.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated, "Communism and the CPSU, communism and the USSR--these are indivisible factors. The great prestige of the USSR, the love and respect for the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the Soviet people--these are the greatest moral-political assets of the worldwide revolutionary movement.

Those, however, who voluntarily, or involuntarily undermine this capital and adopt positions of nationalism and revisionism, who hope to win over the petit bourgeois voter by not resisting or even joining anti-Soviet manifestations--those people not only shift the balance of forces on a world scale to a negative direction, but they also undermine the positions of their own party and class. To work out tactics and strategy of a party, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the political situation of one's own country alone--this actually means to forget the main, international character of the struggle and also to pay tribute to social democratic illusions, to deviate from the correct path of the class struggle."

The class character of anti-Sovietism is not exhausted in its antisocialist and anti-workers trends. Anti-Sovietism, in its social essence, is an antipeople, antidemocratic trend. In domestic and in foreign policy anti-Sovietism damages the working people's vital interest in their own countries. True democracy on an anti-Soviet basis is virtually impossible. Without and against the Soviet Union the theory and practice of socialism are being distorted. The path of socialism not only becomes more difficult, but it can also be closed forever.

No one understands this better than the imperialist bourgeoisie. Throughout many years it has sought the most effective methods to achieve that goal. In following this strategy the greatest attention is increasingly paid to so-called "evolutionism."

L. Kolakowski, a former professor at Warsaw University who is now one of the ideologists and leaders of the KOS-KOR movement, proposed a concrete plan in this connection 10 years ago, and on this subject precisely. In a "work" called "Theses About Hope and Hopelessness," he rejected the probability of an armed invasion from the West of the "East European countries" and the outbreak of an armed insurrection in those countries. In his opinion, the only reliable, but distant prospect was "the evolutionary degeneration of regimes" along the path of their liberalization "under pressure from the masses from the bottom."

The antisocialist forces in Poland today are promoting this strategy, as a matter of fact. Not a direct blow, but "disintegration" of socialism, a gradual, systematic erosion of its structures, starting from the "bottom." For 10 months now, the antisocialist forces have been indeed active. They are taking over trade unions and mass information media. They are now going over to the state organs, to the party...

Is it too late to stop this course of events, to carry out a change for the better--which is so much awaited by the communists and by the healthy forces in the country--the change toward rescuing socialism in Poland?

We would like to believe that it is not too late. As the CPSU Central Committee letter to the Polish comrades, reads, the question is to mobilize the healthy forces of society for resolute resistance to the class enemy--for a daily, hourly, aggressive struggle against counterrevolution.

A particularly important, historic responsibility is assigned to the PZPR to immediately stop and liquidate anti-Sovietism in Polish society, to completely eradicate it. Merely denouncing certain overt manifestations of anti-Sovietism and oaths of loyalty to alliances are obviously insufficient today. As the great Georgi Dimitrov used to say, "the relations with the Soviet Union are virtually the cornerstone of loyalty to the interests of the workers class, of loyalty to socialism, and this applies to every leader of the workers movement and to each workers organization."

SOLIDARITY CHARGED WITH 'STAGED DESTABILIZATION'

AU130908 Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 13 Jul 81

["Facing Great Historical Responsibility"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 13 Jul (BTA)--In a dispatch under the above headline the RABOTNICHESKO DELO journalists Kolyu Kolev and Angel Bonev write from Warsaw about the situation in Poland on the eve of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In their view, this situation features a strictly staged destabilization of the socialist economy and the state, accompanied by an aggravation of the political situation, with escalation of anti-socialist raids, with inventive demagogy and blackmail.

The newsmen write: "The extremists of 'Solidarity', who have glorified themselves as defendants of the workers together with the big company of open and secret advisers, have planned a total blow on the socialist state. Although proclaiming itself as a partner in the negotiations with the government, as a constructive force, this new trade union has never appealed to the workers for organization and discipline, for fulfillment of the production tasks. To the contrary, every one of its proclamations was aimed at destruction, at disorganization, at disobedience, at strikes".

In particular the authors dwell on the last three strikes--of the seaside dockers, of the city transport in Bydgoszcz and at the Warsaw airport, organized to exert pressure on the congress.

They have themselves been witnessing the warning strike at the Warsaw airport. It is not true, the dispatch reads, that the 'Solidarity headquarters has not given its blessing to these strikes. We saw with our own eyes how, during the strike, when the activity of this so important transport enterprise was paralyzed, Solidarity patrols with bands around their sleeves were strolling around instead of the airport's legitimate masters. Announcements hanging on the doors carried the style of regulations in a few items sealed with the organization's seal and with its chairman's signature affixed to them.

The journalists recall another case of gross provocation on the part of Solidarity--the Bydgoszcz strike inspired by the quite famous Pan Rulewski--one of the sinister figures of the extremist wing of the trade union, who had decided to fire the director to the local transport enterprise Andrzej Antoszak only because he was courageous enough to oppose some time ago the strike challenge of Solidarity.

As noted in the dispatch, the psychosis of tension and ruining of institutions and structures, fanned up by Solidarity has defamed many cadres. The goal of these acts is only one: destabilization of the socialist system and denouncing the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The tragic point in this case is, write Kolyu Kolev and Angel Bonev, that the party and the state did not find courage and strength to oppose these acts timely, to show the very truth to the society. This truth could not be understood also by the people who had been trapped to fall in the dangerous snare of the promises for a 'more just' redistribution of material goods or showed faint-heartedness and passivity.

The society needs now a clear prospect, crucial defence, active measures and real guarantees for security, and quiet work, RABOTNICHESKO DELO emphasized. This is why the PUWP Congress cannot avoid the most important--taking a firm stand by changing the course of affairs and discovering the right way out of the present crisis, by defending the gains of socialist Poland. Everything depends on the fact to what extent the class and party principles and the sober approach will take the upper hand, how far things will be called with their real names and decisions supported by energetic and brave actions. Here namely lies the historical responsibility of the party, of the communists, of the socialist society. There is no other sensible way, the dispatch reads in conclusion.

BCP DAILY ON DISSIDENCE IN SOLIDARITY RANKS

AU101854 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jul 81 p 7

[BTA Warsaw correspondent's report: "Dollars, Dollars... the Election-Accountability Conferences of Solidarity"]

[Text] Election-accountability conferences of the Solidarity trade union are taking place in various parts of the country.

The conferences are not only discussing the candidacy for regional leaderships and the candidates to the first congress of the trade union which will be held in August but also the programatic tasks of the organization for the near future. In many places, the delegates are asking the question when the trade union will at last begin to occupy itself with trade union activity and stop dealing with issues common to a political party. This is one of the causes for the slow but sure exodus of Solidarity members.

At the regional conference in Gdansk where all the members of the Solidarity National Coordination Commission led by Lech Walesa were present, the question which the trade union has about foreign currency was sharply raised. Walesa said that he had transferred $11,000 which he had received from Sweden as a prize to the trade union's account. He has received another prize, amounting to $60,000, from Greece.

It was also announced at the conference that $250,000 had been spent for the printing machines in Gdansk. Walesa said that $600,000 were earmarked for Solidarity in the United States as aid from the U.S. trade unions and other organizations to meet some of the "needs" of Solidarity. There are funds in other countries, too. Various money in dollars, francs, British pounds and other Western currency are constantly being transferred to the Solidarity account.

At the Gdansk conference, the dissidence which has occurred in Solidarity was once again confirmed. There were posters on the walls in Gdansk and Gdynia calling for the organization of an independent trade union, separate from Solidarity.

POLISH OFFICIAL QUOTED ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU101045 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Report on interview with Edward Milczarek, secretary of the All-Poland Committee of Poland's National Unity Front, by OTECHESTVEN FRONT, "We Neither Can Nor Should Continue To Make Concessions"]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jul (BTA)--In interview before an OTECHESTVEN FRONT representative, Mr Edward Milczarek, secretary of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front gave high assessment to letter of the CC of the CPSU to the CC of the PUWP. The Polish public figure says that "the letter has exerted a sobering influence. It served both as information and a call to both communists and non-party members. After receiving it the Poles became more critical to the hostile acts of the anti-socialist forces. Thus a climate which is not suitable for evoking a new situation of tension in the country is being established".

Mr E. Milczarek goes further on saying: "Of course, no guarantee that we would not be witnesses to new provocations and new anti-Soviet excesses can be given. All these acts, however, should be given a strong resistance and I hope that all the persons who are to blame will receive what they deserve. In this way the trust in the party will be strengthened which is of paramount importance now, on the eve of the 11th congress".

"Decisive actions are needed--it is stressed in the interview. We neither can nor should continue to make concessions. Principled measures and brisk actions alone will lead us off the crisis and will make it possible for us to continue the socialist construction of the country. It is our duty to make every possible effort to strengthen the security of Poland in the interest of its independence, its liberty, its situation of an adequate member of the united family of the socialist states.

Dwelling on the tasks facing the National Unity Front during the crisis in Poland, Mr Milczarek said: "Time requires from us to make maximum efforts to make the front a real political organization--a strong link for uniting all patriotic forces".

The secretary of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front maintains that the views that the front should not strengthen its political role but to be turned into a platform for exchanging opinions and ceaseless talks alone instead, are deeply wrong.

"We cannot accept these views," Mr E. Milczarek says, because they are spread by those forces and elements who want to strike a blow on socialism in our country.

These very forces are striving to lessen the role of the front and to prevent it from discussing questions of importance such as leading the country off the crisis, the economic plans for a new reforms as well as the preparation of new important draft-laws. "We think, it is underlined in the interview, that the front has strength and should become a centre in which the points of views of the parties and the organizations should be fixed and in which the common stand of all Poles in the work of resolving the issues of the present day should be worked out.

FRG'S FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER INTERVIEWED ON VISIT

DW101210 Cologne Westdeutscher Rundfunk Network in German 1630 GMT 9 Jul 81

["Excerpts" from reporter Haarmann interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Sofia; date not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] German-Bulgarian relations are considered as being so good that practically no bilateral problems exist. Can you confirm this after your talks with the Bulgarian leadership?

[Answer] Absolutely, yes. Traditional friendship between Germans and Bulgarians is the basis for this. It became obvious during the talks here that both sides want to further strengthen relations. This can be seen by the fact that we want to begin consultations on disarmament issues between both foreign ministries. Moreover, the Bulgarian foreign minister and I agreed to hold regular unofficial meetings to have a frank and broad exchange of views. We want to promote the development of economic-political relations. The aim is to achieve progress and--as far as international issues are concerned--to contribute to an improvement of the situation in Europe.

[Question] Are you under the impression that your trip has promoted Eastern understanding of Western positions, such as, for example, regarding nuclear medium-range missiles?

[Answer] Both sides must strive to develop an understanding of each other's concerns and aims. This applies to detente policy, security problems, the problems we must eliminate at the Madrid CSCE followup conference, support of the common aim of a European disarmament conference and also--I must say this most clearly--the common aim of bringing about negotiations as quickly as possible between the United States and the Soviet Union on medium-range weapons. Negotiations and dialogue--these were statements we agreed on despite the fact contrasting positions exist on factual problems. It would be wrong to remain silent about such problems in view of the seriousness of the situation.

[Question] Did you see some points of rapprochement here in Sofia such as, for example, the possibility that the Warsaw Pact and NATO could renounce medium-range weapons?

[Answer] One cannot anticipate the result of negotiations, but I believe that if common concern exists--although one may have different opinions on the cause of such concern--it is important to state that there is a common responsibility. We can live up to this responsibility not by waging polemics or a media war against each other, but by sitting down at the negotiation table where grave problems should be handled.

REPORTAGE ON POLAND ON EVE OF NINTH PZPR CONGRESS

U.S. Envoy Link With Solidarity

LD111156 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] U.S. Ambassador to Poland Francis Meehan visited the center of Walesa's trade unions in Warsaw yesterday and had a 90-minute talk with branch leader Zbygniew Bujak. A report on the strange diplomatic activity of the U.S. ambassador was published in the bulletin of the Mazowsze branch of Walesa's trade unions, which said that the topic of the talks was allegedly the analysis of the situation in Poland and particularly the latest developments in the stabilization of the country and the prospects for economic and social reforms.

The interest of the American ambassador to Poland in Walesa's trade unions at a time when the disrupters among them were giving fresh orders to start new strikes, provocations and destabilization a few days before the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress is not accidental.

The direction which American Ambassador Francis Meehan's activity in Walesa's trade unions might have taken is also hinted at by the fact that as early as yesterday afternoon, the Warsaw branch of Walesa's trade unions issued several declarations in which they call for the support of the planned general strike by the Polish airlines LOT and provocatively speak against the appointment of Gen Jozef Kowalski as director general of the airlines. Walesa's Warsaw trade unions also want to push through by their new strike the release of three exponents of the extreme right: Moczulski, Seremietiew and Stanski, who were rearrested on Thursday by decision of the Polish Supreme Court.

U.S. Media Coverage

AU091047 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 81 p 3

[Milan Jelinek Washington dispatch: "A View From the Adversary's Metropolis; What Is Being Written About Developments in Poland in the United States"]

[Text] American information media regularly and extensively report on developments in Poland's domestic policy. But not a single line about U.S. support for counterrevolutionary forces has appeared in them since the bosses of the reactionary AFL-CIO trade union federation publicly admitted that the leadership of the Polish "Solidarity" organization is on their payroll. Newspapers, radio and television are evidently strictly adhering to the authorities' instruction that such revelations and reports do not serve U.S. interests in the development of Polish events. Nevertheless, Polish towns have been flooded with American journalists and experts.

American journalists seem to have excellent and detailed information, which they get from the "Solidarity" headquarters. One of the main issues in which the United States takes interest is the so-called economic future of Poland. U.S. journalists are not content with merely stating that the Polish economy is absolutely disrupted and "on the brink of catastrophe," but ask what the future of overall social relations in Poland will be. And they are getting answers from the "Solidarity" leaders. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, influential American commentators who are currently in Poland, have, for instance, published the following sentences in the Washington POST:

"The eyes of Solidarity representatives begin to shine brilliantly when they talk about Swedish social democracy. Lech Walesa expresses in his public speeches his affection for free enterprise and the Japanese model."

The two journalists spoke with Doctor R. Krawczyk, member of the Polish economic society, who is--as they stressed--member of both the Communist Party and "Solidarity." Krawczyk is reportedly "Solidarity's" economic adviser and enjoys special attention in the United States. Rightly so, when we consider what the Washington POST has written: "Specifically Krawczyk, in discussions with the economic management and the trade unions, not only opposes state ownership, but wants to use a free market for distributing resources and price setting."

American information media make it clear, without concealing anything, that "Solidarity" does not at all seek rectification of economic disorders or even the development of socialism in Poland. On the contrary, they stress that the aim of "Solidarity" is a basic change of socioeconomic relations.

At the same time, they are burying the role of the Communist Party, quoting "Solidarity" leaders who proclaim that it will be they who will decide what "economic model" will be implemented in Poland. Doctor Krawczyk clearly told the American guests: "You overestimate the party's role in economic reforms." And now, to conclude with a "pearl of wisdom": Asked directly whether he is a Marxist, Krawczyk said: "One year ago I would have told you that I am."

It is astonishing how far American journalists are informed about the Polish communists' internal party affairs. They carry their own analyses and statistical data. Journalist Dobbs sent the following telegraphic dispatch from Warsaw: "An estimated 80 percent of the current 250-member Central Committee have not been elected as congress delegates and are therefore about to fall into political oblivion." It is also being claimed that most congress delegates are managers, intellectuals and so forth. Some 80 percent of the delegates reportedly have never held any party posts and have not taken an active part in party life.

It is being claimed in Washington that 30 percent of the delegates to the Communist Party's congress are also "Solidarity" members. That provides, according to the Americans' judgment, the guarantee that the congress cannot adopt any effective measures against the intentions of "Solidarity." The ABC television network made the prognosis that the congress will result in a change in the Polish Communist Party's leadership, which will accept the existence of "Solidarity" as "an essential political factor" and "an equal partner" in shaping Poland's social future.

There is, generally, a big clamor in the United States about a rift among Polish communists, that under the present leadership the party is disintegrating into groups and losing its ability to effectively influence the internal political development. Naturally, the wish is father to the thought. Nevertheless, the many American journalists and "experts" in Poland provide an extensive mosaic of information, information that gives rise to satisfaction in the White House. The hundreds of articles, reports and quotations of "Solidarity" leaders create an image that pleases the representatives of American imperialism--the image that socialist Poland is vanishing.

The view from Washington, the metropolis of the most powerful and principled adversary of socialism in Poland, is not, of course, necessarily true. However, it has the merit of a warning and an instruction on what "the enemy's praise" means.

Katowice Forum Letter

LD102106 Prague CTK in English 1932 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Katowice, 10 Jul (CTK)--The Katowice Forum of the Polish United Workers Party met here today to discuss the situation in the party and the country before the 9th congress of the party which opens next week.

The participants approved a letter to the congress and a draft resolution to be submitted at the congress.

The letter stresses that one of the main tasks of the party today is struggle for ideopolitical unity, for which the principal prerequisite is recognition of Marxism-Leninism as the ideology and guideline of the activity of the party, and recognition of the principles of the socialist system confirmed by the experience of the international workers movement. The aim must not be formal unity during the congress but the working out of such a program and adoption of such resolutions which will guarantee the communist character of the party and enable it to get rid of alien, indecisive elements.

There cannot be unity in the party with people who undermine the theoretical and methodological foundations of Marxism-Leninism, with rightist opportunist and social-democratic forces, with people and groups that undermine the foundations of the socialist system and democratic centralism, the letter said.

The Katowice Forum said in its letter that a limit has to be set to acceptable compromises, to prevent the abandonment of the positions already gained, and creation of a system of political pluralism.

It stressed the cohesion of the party and its leading role are fundamental conditions for the strengthening of the socialist state and development of socialist democracy. This can be achieved by crushing the forces undermining the foundations of socialism, rightist opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces. This will create ideological, political and organizational guarantees of constant and systematic development of socialist economic relations.

The letter said the forum was following with concern the process of weakening of socialist production relationships and strengthening of private ownership.

In another document, the Katowice Forum underlined that rightist opportunist and revisionist forces and groups in the party were responsible for the deformations of the political line and inner-party democracy, and thus for the present socio-political crisis.

Commentary on Strikes

LD122146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jul 81

[By Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka]

[Text] The strikes staged recently in Warsaw, Bydgoszcz and on the coast have had the impact of a dynamite explosion. After the days of relative calm, the waters of the Polish political life have become stormy again. Many people had thought that the former stability was the result of some sort of common understanding and deliberation. However, it has been confirmed that those healthy forces in the party and society which a long time ago were pointing out the fact that the antisocialist forces would never come to terms with a situation in which the party would consolidate its ranks and strengthen its link with the masses of the working people had displayed a lot more foresight. The healthy forces also stressed that it was impossible to believe that the rightwing elements in the party would willingly give up the positions they had gained.

All that happened was that the political fight for a social nature of society and a Marxist-Leninist character of the party has changed its forms. It is no longer possible to blame the catastrophic situation of the Polish economy and the resultant continuing decline of the living standard solely on past mistakes and shortcomings. Old ills were followed by new ones born after August. The fulfilled pay and social demands, so brutally pushed through by Solidarity, not only failed to improve the situation but, on the contrary, brought about its further deterioration.

The destabilization of the social, economic and political life has deepened. The antisocialist and opportunist forces have continued to gain a decisive influence, for example in the Polish mass media. In this situation, when there was a threat that Solidarity would be transformed into a political party and the PZPR into a party of the social-democratic type, party aktivs uniting the healthy forces in society began to emerge. They no longer wished to passively watch the gradual disintegration of the basic structures of socialist Poland. I mean the Katowice Party Forum, the Poznan Forum of Communists, the Szczecin Communists' Movement and so on.

Despite a frenzied slanderous campaign and the blocking of information about their activity, the voice of the Polish communists has begun to gain an ever greater response among the public--thanks to the principled and open nature of the formulations used in assessing the present situation and thanks to pointing out the fact that the calm of the recent weeks and months was only relative and was being used by the antisocialist and rightwing opportunist forces as a coverup for a still more intensive political fight.

The most recent developments have fully confirmed these views. The strikes organized by Solidarity on the coast, in Bydgoszcz and in Warsaw must be seen and interpreted above all from the political point of view; although, naturally, the damage caused by them is tremendous. It is necessary to see them as the first test of strength after a longer period--as some sort of litmus test and at the same time as an attempt to affect the forthcoming Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. The point now is that all delegates to the congress should derive the appropriate conclusions from this and realize that the results of the congress will determine the future of the party and country.

Plenary Session

LD112247 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Richard Pokorny report from Warsaw]

[Text] The 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, the last one before the ninth congress, approved a resolution yesterday in which it adopted a report submitted by a special commission set up at the 10th plenary session to consider the degree of responsibility of those party members who held leading posts during the past period. This document is also to become one of the basic materials for the proceedings of the congress.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, spoke during the opening part of yesterday's plenary session. He delivered a report on the progress of the campaign leading to the congress, particularly the voivodship conferences. That part of his report is worth attention for it notes that the number of worker delegates is very low. Furthermore, it also states that the course of the discussions at the conferences had demonstrated that not all those attending had fully realized that the way out of the crisis depends not only on the reforms but primarily on each individual citizen and each individual party member and on their work. This is how one might characterize the situation after the latest plenary session and a short while before the opening of the extraordinary congress.

The majority of dailies and weeklies reflect on the course of the congress, a congress at which clashes of views are logically bound to happen, views which the weekly RZECZYWISTOSC describes as follows: There are truly two orientations between which is bound to occur an ideological, political and cadre confrontation. The first can be described as a truly worker and Marxist-Leninist orientation, while the other can be termed a right or right-centrist orientation, manifesting itself by almost Mafia-type methods in the form of various pressure groups, literally striving to transform the PZPR into a social democratic party that would in no case be a communist one.

The fact that one cannot underestimate a similar danger was pointed out the other day by the latest meeting of the Katowice Party Forum. This meeting was attended by a number of representatives from localities throughout the country. Despite the fact that not so long ago the Katowice Forum was the target of vicious attacks by a considerable section of the information media, one can see that its ideas are gaining ever growing support. The latest proof of this is the consultative group of Lublin communists, established recently, which also assesses current developments from a Marxist-Leninist position.

On the other hand, one also must not forget the danger arising from planned provocations, including strikes scheduled to take place during the next few weeks. This all serves as pressure on the proceedings of the congress and above all on its outcome.

So this is how the situation looks in the Polish People's Republic a few days before the Ninth PZPR Congress, the conclusions of which are tensely being anticipated by the whole society.

Solidarity Elections

AU101227 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jul 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky, Karol Mikulka, Warsaw dispatch: "'Saints' on the List of Candidates; On Elections to the Regional Bodies of So-Called Solidarity"]

[Text] How are we to characterize the elections to the regional bodies of so-called Solidarity, elections that were to be held, according to the statutes, within 5 months of the organization's registration but are, in fact, taking place after a delay of 3 months? One thing that may be considered characteristic is L. Walesa's statement at the general assembly of the Gdansk region delegates: "We realize that there are many people who would like to run our movement. But as long as I am here, no one will take over the management."

He further confirmed that there are differences between him and other leaders of so-called Solidarity, even "with friends from the hard times," and that "a very dangerous schism has occurred" within so-called Solidarity. To furnish evidence of this, we referred to the setting up of so-called free trade unions by those who have left "Solidarity" for various reasons of disagreement. He did not conceal that under those circumstances "Solidarity" might "lose" its cause.

Nevertheless, the question remains why there has been a delay in the elections. The answer is clear: When we consider that many leaders have made it their task to force through their people as delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in party organizations of all levels, that they have been "on guard" to make sure that as few party members as possible join the organs of so-called Solidarity and that they have been in all possible ways and often illegally "acting as proxy" for the state power and the government in many questions of social and economic life, then it is not surprising that they were too busy to have time for actual trade union affairs.

The aforementioned general assembly of "Solidarity" in Gdansk brought to light other things as well--apart from other things, a peculiar handling of the foreign currency which "Solidarity" received in the form of donations from the West. The report that was prepared for the delegates mentioned the sum of 13,000 [no denomination given] in various foreign currencies. However, later it turned out that additional large sums are still abroad; that polygraphic installations have already cost $250,000; or that Walesa's deputy, Mr Andrzej Gwiazda surreptitiously received $3,000 from Australia which he deposited in his own bank account, even though--as he himself declared--he is ready to deposit it in "Solidarity's" account if L. Walesa does the same with the $11,000 he will receive from Sweden. The entire report on dollars, German marks, Swedish kronor and so forth that have been placed at the Gdansk "Solidarity's" disposal thus had to be revised because in the United States "Solidarity" has an additional $600,000 to its credit and "also a little" in other capitalist countries, as L. Walesa declared.

The foreign currency resources are allegedly a result of the "Solidarity" leaders' frequent trips to the West. As Walesa declared, the foreign hosts of "Solidarity" delegations "pay for the trip and in addition give something on the spot."

But all this is taking place only on the sidelines of the current elections to "Solidarity's" regional bodies, elections that are reminiscent of the election merry-go-rounds in the West, advertising included. Each candidate is presenting his program and, as in the case of elections to the Mazowsze "Solidarity," there are also boys in smart hats distributing an appeal to the members and sympathizers of "Solidarity." This must have been obviously a faction of some sort because the appeal mentioned, apart from other things, "collusions, intoxication with power, settling of personal accounts" as well as the infiltration of the "Solidarity" leadership by KOR members, who were described as "representatives of the Mafia of Jewish chauvinists."

The elections to the Maozwsze "Solidarity" were held in three stages. It took many hours before the delegates agreed on the election procedures. Some screamed that "the delegates are being manipulated." As Anna Matalowska from POLITYKA found out, the candidates' biographies often included the terms "sentenced," "participant in the 1976 strike," "strike organizer," "expelled from the Polish Socialist Youth Union for revisionism."

Each candidate for membership in the Mazowsze "Solidarity" leadership had 2 minutes to say something about himself and to present his program. Reporters said that during the presentation of candidates, the voters frequented the cafeteria or even left the building so that the chairman of the assembly had to appeal to their sense of responsibility and discipline them.

The following day, on Sunday, they counted only one-third of the 875 delegates in the assembly hall. There were many "ardent" candidates but, in line with the KOR's intentions, only its loyal collaborator and disciple Zbygniew Bujak could be candidate number one for the post of chairman. His programmatic line is to "organize social movement in Poland," which is thus in the spirit of KOR's program. Even Adam Michnik, who was quickly employed shortly before the elections by some production cooperative in Gorza Kalwarii near Warsaw, appeared on the candidate list. The very Michnik who is the closest collaborator of Jacek Kuron, one of the foremost advisers of "Solidarity's" National Coordinating Commission.

Otherwise, it seems that almost all candidates for posts in "Solidarity's" regional bodies are profoundly self-critical people. It transpires from their personal features as listed in the election materials, as Anna Matalowska writes, that they are a group of "saints"; they do not smoke, they engage in sports--preferring tennis, "unshakably defend all forms of democracy," "are reliable in all activities," "find a way out of every situation," are 100-percent Catholics and so forth. Let us add that it would be unjust not to see any upright and modest trade unionists in "Solidarity" who also ran for election. However, they did not have the slightest chance to get elected in view of the organized grouping of political gamblers.

It is probably no accident that some "Solidarity" members today refer to Walesa as a "dictator." However, that characterization applies primarily to his "rivals" such as J. Rulewski from Bydgoszcz or A. Rozplochowski from Katowice. Those people are not inferior to him when it comes to dictatorial methods, and they also want to make "Solidarity" a political party. Some "Solidarity" members have a different view on this. That is also why voices could be heard at the general assemblies that "Solidarity" should not neglect its main mission--to see to people's working conditions and their social needs.

Yet another feature that was manifested in the election of the Mazowsze "Solidarity" leadership may be described as characteristic of the elections to regional bodies. The candidates included only a few workers. No wonder that one of the delegates complained from the rostrum that peculiar practices have set in in "Solidarity." He said that "at the top" workers and people from primary organizations are not always referred to with the appropriate respect. Another objection that was raised was that professors, doctors, specialists, people who have foisted themselves on the workers class have seized control of so-called Solidarity.

The assembly elected Zbygniew Bujak chairman of the Mazowsze "Solidarity." It is, therefore, not difficult to guess by which paths and in which direction the organization will go.

Solidarity Rejects LOT Director

LD102102 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul, (CETEKA)--The "Solidarity" in the Polish LOT Airlines announced today that it "does not recognize" the appointment of General Jozef Kowalski general director of the corporation and will try to put through its own candidate by all means.

The "Solidarity" relies above all on strikes in this struggle and announced already a general strike for July 24.

Acting General Director of the LOT Corporation Jan Zwiezsinski said today that yesterday's "warning" strike caused serious losses to the Polish air transport. It was necessary to cancel 10 domestic flights and postpone nine international flights. A number of foreign corporations cancelled their flights to Warsaw.

Crackdown on Black Marketeers

LD112118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Poland: Members of the public security, in the framework of an extensive operation codenamed "speculator," encircled the town market in Bielsko-Biala today. They cracked down on persons who were selling rationed foodstuffs without a permit and at high prices. Goods valued at almost Z150,000 were confiscated from speculators. This action was highly praised by the public.

KAMPUCHEAN FOREIGN MINISTER HUN SEN ARRIVES

LD131016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Text] Hun Sen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Kampuchean People's Republic, arrived by air in Prague today for an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. He was welcomed at Ruzyne airport by Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, at whose invitation the visit is taking place.

CPSU DELEGATION ARRIVES TO STUDY PROPAGANDA WORK

AU081911 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jul 81 p 1

["(Z)"-signed report: "Talk With the CPSU Central Committee Delegation"]

[Text] Prague--A 5-man CPSU Central Committee study delegation arrived this Monday by air in Prague at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. It is led by Comrade P. Luchinskiy, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's Department of Propaganda. The delegation, which will be studying in the CSSR matters connected with the party's ideological work, talked the same day with M. Bochenko, deputy head of the CPSZ Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation, and other leading workers of the two departments. In the coming days, the delegation will visit certain city, regional and district party committees.

CSCE DELEGATE SUPPORTS SOVIET INITIATIVES

LD102024 Prague CTK in English 1809 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Madrid 10 Jul (CTK)--Real possibility exists to reach mutually acceptable decisions if the principles of equality, noninterference in the internal affairs and respect of the differences of social systems are observed, head of the Czechoslovak delegation Ambassador Radoslav Klien told the plenary session of the Madrid meeting here today.

He fully supported the new initiatives of the Soviet Union which make it possible to define the mandate for the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The Czechoslovak delegate stressed the willingness of the Czechoslovak delegation to strive for a quick solution of the remaining questions and adoption of a final document which would strengthen detente.

PENTAGON PLAN TO MOVE TROOPS 'ABSOLUTE PROVOCATION'

LD130629 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Jul 81

[Text] Our next report comes from Moscow. Our correspondent Werner Czogalla looks at the U.S. plan to move a large group of its forces stationed in the FRG into closer proximity to the Warsaw Treaty states. What is the Soviet public's view on this?

[Begin Czogalla recording] First of all, what is the plan? U.S. combat units amounting to a 200,000-strong force, which up until now have been stationed in several parts of the FRG, are to be concentrated toward the East and moved to areas closer to the Warsaw Treaty states bordering on the FRG. The bases necessary for this project will be either newly set up or expanded old ones. Details, it is further reported, as to how the Pentagon plan is to be carried out have already been discussed with Bundeswehr Inspector General Brandt in Washington. These, then, are the facts which have so far become known and which are regarded in Moscow as absolute provocation.

This is obviously not a routine military transfer operation but the biggest regrouping operation by U.S. troops in the FRG since the end of World War II. And this is occurring in a world situation which is dangerous already. PRAVDA also comes to the conclusion that the implementation of the Pentagon's plan within the so-called forward strategy intensifies the threat of war and exacerbates tensions in the center of Europe. The question is being asked here whether the peoples of Europe now of all times need such a provocative demonstration of Washington's strength considering for example that the people of the Federal Republic are already living on top of a nuclear volcano and that the siting of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles which are to be targeted on the East, on the Soviet Union, is yet to come.

What is the purpose of all this? The Soviet Union is not threatening anyone. This has always been the unswerving general principle of Soviet foreign policy. With the best will in the world, the United States certainly cannot say this of itself. For it is the one who, in its role of policing the world, threatens peoples and states and involves them in wars. The Soviet Union, on the other hand--and this was once again stated by the Supreme Soviet in its recent appeal to the parliaments and peoples does not want confrontation with any state either in the West or East. What it wants is constructive talks with effective results on the disarmament issue. It wants an end to the arms race, military detente and confidence-building measures in the military field in order to prevent the worst.

During the past few weeks, statemen and party leaders who were here in Moscow were able to convince themselves of this. The Pentagon's planned operation of concentrating its units closer to the Warsaw Treaty troops once again confirms in a striking way, obvious to everyone, that Washington's interest does not lie in a reduction of military tensions but the opposite is the case. [end recording]

WARSAW PACT NAVIES CONTINUE TRAINING IN BALTIC

LD131012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Text] Rostock, 13 Jul (ADN)--The joint naval formation of the three socialist Baltic navies with the antisubmarine ship Obraztsovyy, the missile destroyer Prozorlivyy of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, the Warszawa missile destroyer of the Polish Navy and the coastal patrol ship of the GDR People's Navy, Berlin, continued their joint training in the Baltic in the past few days. Commanders and personnel demonstrated a high degree of capacity performance, combat readiness and tactical skill in sailing in a sweeper convoy [raeumgeleit], in combat maneuvers and in combating targets in the air and at sea.

The action was marked by close and accurate cooperation between the participating vessels. This applies to the missile and torpedo speedboats of the three fraternal navies, the Soviet and Polish naval aviation and the helicopter forces of the People's Navy which were deployed as partners in the exercises [uebungspartner] of the naval formation and in support of individual training elements.

HONECKER MEETS WITH CPSU'S ABRASIMOV 10 JULY

LD101634 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jul (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received on Friday Petr Abrasimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the USSR to the GDR. During the talk which took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, topical questions of mutual interest were discussed in total agreement.

SOLIDARITY RESPONSIBLE FOR 'MISERY' IN POLAND

LD101538 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 10 Jul (ADN)--Four days before the opening of the special PZPR Congress the situation in the country has become more critical through strike actions by Solidarity, in which obviously as hitherto the extreme forces hold the leadership in their hands. The personnel of the LOT airlines stopped work for 4 hours to force the government to remove a director appointed by the Transportation Ministry who until then had served as a general in the Polish Air Force.

The LOT strike affected mainly domestic flights but also a number of international flights. A number of employees of the Bydgoszcz transport enterprise also went on a "2-hour token strike" because the director, who insists that work continue without interruptions--the most important thing that Poland requires at present--did not please Solidarity. This is typical of the situation prior to the party congress.

In view of the chaos with regard to supplies, even Western correspondents now write that the main topic among the people is no longer the heated discussions in the work bodies and the trade unions and on the organization forms of democracy. People are much more strongly worried and preoccupied by the supply situation, which is deteriorating from day to day. An atmosphere of panic is spreading in the lines, which are now particularly long outside bakers' shops.

Thousands of people are late for work because they did not manage to reach the counters before the time they were due to start work trying to get at least what their ration cards entitle them to although many of them started queuing at 0400-0500.

This is an expression of the misery to which Solidarity's domination has brought People's Poland. Factories that are almost completed are idle, others are working only intermittently. There is a shortage of washing powder, toothpaste and soap. In many holiday homes and hospitals people are no longer able to do the laundry. There is no hope of early improvement. Many staff are resorting to self-help and are supplying their products in exchange for washing powder, cigarettes and construction materials and for food from the farmers, who here are mostly individual farmers or large-scale farmers. It remains to be seen what the special party congress will decide with regard to all this.

NATIONAL BUDGET ACCOUNTING FOR 1980 PUBLISHED

AU061652 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Jun 81 p 10

["Budget Accounting for 1980: Implementing of Important Revenues and Expenditures of the State Budget"]

[Text] I. Revenues

	in million marks
Overall revenue	160,652.4
Including:	
--Revenue from state enterprises, combines and associations of state enterprises remittances [abfuehrungen] of production and trade fund levies	18,233.0
Remittances of net profits	40,094.8
Remittances of product-bound levies	39,338.8
--Levies from banks	6,051.4
--Levies from agriculture	1,417.9
--Revenue from agricultural institutions, particularly from services of the state veterinary service	467.7
--Dues for the utilization of the soil	299.7
--Revenue from dues for the utilization of water and other receipts of the water economy directorates	172.8
--Revenue from:	
Production cooperatives of craftsmen and other socialist cooperatives	3,074.5
Private craftsmen and tradesmen	3,029.0
--Wages tax of workers and employees	6,793.2
--Revenue from the research of the Academy of Sciences and colleges	422.3
--Receipts from rents paid to the communal housing administration of communities	191.9
--Receipts of the state institutions of the education sector, particularly for board and lodgings, participants' fees	679.7
Of this:	
Public education	371.8
Colleges and technical schools	268.8
Vocational training	5.9
Adult qualification	32.2
--Receipts of institutions of the state health service	
Of this:	
Payments for services of the health system by social security	5,207.4
--Receipts of pharmacies and orthopedical workshops	823.8
Other receipts such as from the services of laundries, parents' contributions to nurseries, cost contributions in old people's and nursing homes	467.7
--Receipts of social insurance	
Of this:	
From the share of the enterprises, state organs and institutions and cooperatives	8,641.6
From the working people's share	6,561.6
--Receipts of state institutions for culture, and recreation, sports facilities and institutions for youth	683.0
Of this:	
Culture	465.4
Recreation and sports facilities	189.6
Youth institutions	28.0
--Receipts of the radio service	113.1
--Receipts of the television service	391.3
--Receipts from communal measures and services	152.4
--Dues and other administrative receipts of the state apparatus and of economic management organs	285.6
--Communal taxes	526.0

II.

	in billion marks
Overall Expenditures	160,283.4
Of this:	
--Budget means for science and technology as well as for research institutions	2,411.5
Of this:	
Means for science and technology in the enterprises and combines of the state economy	1,084.1
Means for science and technology in the sphere of agriculture and forestry	326.0
Means for research and development in state institutions and installations	1,001.4
Of this research expenditures:	
Of the Academy of Sciences	495.2
Of colleges and technical schools	405.3
--Budget means for social science research	169.7
--Budget means for financing investments	5,774.8
--Expenditures for the maintenance and repair of traffic routes (roads, waterways, rails, sea and inland ports and airports)	2,942.4
--Product-bound price supports for raw and basic materials	6,127.8
--Price compensation fund for industrial enterprises for the temporary compensation of effects of industrial price alterations according to plan	960.6
--Appropriations for land improvement, investment grants, product-bound allowances and other production-promoting measures in agriculture	2,351.8
--Product-bound price supports for production means for agricultural enterprises	6,111.5
--State tasks vis-a-vis agriculture and forestry such as the veterinary system, plant protection, special schools and exhibitions	573.9
--Expenditures on recultivation measures	19.4
--Expenditures on the water economy	544.7
--Expenditures on housing	7,239.0
Of this:	
Expenditures on building new apartments, including the building of new social institutions	2,073.4
Expenses on the modernization of apartments	230.0
Construction repairs on existing buildings	1,169.6
Expenses on the management of apartments	1,600.0
Loan release for young married couples and release of interest for recourse to loans	190.4
Interest and repayment of investment loans for building new apartments	1,975.6
--Price support for safeguarding stable prices of essential commodities and rates for the population	16,853.4
Of this:	
Foodstuffs	7,847.5
Industrial commodities for popular consumption fares in long and short distance passenger traffic	2,924.4
Drinking water and fees for treating waste water	702.7
Repairs and services	259.6
--Expenditures on small price corrections and seasonal measures	162.1
--Expenditures for education	9,836.3
Of this:	
Expenditures on public education	6,924.4
Of this:	
Teaching and training aids, toys	181.5
Catering for students and children	862.7
Transport for students	143.6

University and technical school affairs	2,015.9
Of this:	
Scholarships	462.5
Expenses on hostels	135.6
Catering for students in dining halls	109.4
Professional training	798.6
Institution for the qualification of adults	97.4
--Expenditures on health and social administration	9,532.6
Of this:	
Expenditures on hospitals	3,417.5
Expenditures for polyclinics, outpatient clinics and physicians' offices	1,879.3
State allowances for children and maternity benefits	1,337.4
Additional allowances for families with several children	72.6
Expenditures for old people's ard nursing homes	549.7
Expenditures on caring for elderly citizens, for home nursing and supplying lunches	168.9
--Social insurance expenditures	29,410.0
Of this:	
Pensions	15,813.7
Sickness benefits	3,750.9
Pregnancy and maternity allowances	728.6
Allowances for paid-for leaves for mothers (baby year)	278.1
--Expenditures on youth institutions including youth tourism	101.4
--Expenditures on culture	1,595.9
--Expenditures on sports facilities	358.6
--Expenditures on recreation facilities and vacational services	360.1
--Grants for foreign tourism	255.0
--Communal measures and services such as, for example, street lighting, garbage removal, maintenance of gardens and greenery	783.2
--Expenditures on the radio service	203.5
--Expenditures on television	487.7
--Expenditures for the state apparatus and economic management organs	3,708.4
--Civil defense and fire protection	114.5
--Expenditures on national defense	9,403.0
--Expenditures on public security, administration of the law and securing the state border	3,683.0

RADIO REPORTS DETAILS OF UPCOMING PZPR CONGRESS

LD111844 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 11 Jul 81

[From the "168 Hours" political magazine program]

[Text] [Anchorman] Preparations for the congress have reached their last stage in Poland. The reaching of this final phase was the reason behind the meeting of the PZPR Central Committee on Friday and the same factor may have accounted for the readiness of the opposition to mobilize for further strikes during the week. The extraordinary party congress is to open on Tuesday and, obviously, the weekend is to be spent with intensive preparations on the part of the delegates and the organizers. This is why we asked our Warsaw correspondent to give an on-the-spot report to those listening to '168 hours'. Szabolcz Szilagyi, [Warsaw correspondent] hello. First of all, have any more details come to light about yesterday's Central Committee session, apart from what has already been reported or can be read in this morning's papers?

[Answer] Indeed, the Central Committee session held yesterday dealt in very concrete terms with preparations for the congress. The preparations, rather than political and theoretical issues were on the agenda. However, I can tell you more than what was reported yesterday because INTERPRESS bureau, the patron of foreign correspondents reporting on the party congress, has provided a briefing for us.

[Question] We are awaiting your information with interest.

[Answer] According to this briefing, there are a number of issues still under discussion, such as whether delegates who disrupt the proceedings of the congress or ignore congress regulations already approved, can be deprived of their mandates. The briefing also notes that the debates at the congress will be held at two levels: There will be plenary sessions and discussions will take place in 16 working committees, too. There will be 1,964 delegates in the congress hall and we have, indeed, heard that perhaps as many as three-quarters of the delegates will want to speak. In the knowledge of this, the maximum length of speeches has been set at 15 minutes and those who cannot speak, owing to pressure of time, will be able to have their speeches registered in the report prepared at the congress.

[Question] If all these issues are still in dispute, then how long will it take before they are resolved?

[Answer] These issues as well as the rules of the electoral procedure are to be determined during the congress and it will be the congress that decides on these regulations and the works in accordance with them.

Let me say a few words about the rules of the electoral procedure. It is being planned that the participation of two-thirds of the delegates will be needed for voting to be valid.

[Question] That is to say, not just 51 percent.

[Answer] Indeed, no. As for elections to the supreme party organs, such as the Central Committee, the Control and Auditing Committees--these are to be held in secret. I already have one concrete fact here, namely, that the intention is to elect a 270-member Central Committee which is about 20-25 more than the current proposal of the Central Committee [as heard]. Another proposal is also to be considered: This concerns the establishment of a new body within the party, namely, a presidium of the PZPR Central Committee. Another proposal, or more exactly three proposals, concerning the election of the first secretary of the Central Committee has also been suggested. This, too will be decided by the congress itself. Briefly, according to one of the proposals, the first secretary is to be elected by secret ballot even before the election of the Central Committee members. Another possiblity is that the new Central Committee will elect by secret ballot and from within its own ranks the new first secretary.

The third proposal is that the new Central Committee should submit the names of several candidates for the post of first secretary and the delegates will then decide, once more by secret ballot.

[Question] So it seems that the congress will endeavor to bring about not only a substantive renewal but also a renewal affecting formalities and procedure. Are there any signs that the preparations for the congress, and the congress itself, may be disrupted by something? You referred to this earlier on. Did you have strikes in mind or something else?

[Answer] Well, I would say that common sense dictates that nothing should cause any disruption because it is now in the interests of all Polish political forces, and that includes Solidarity, that this congress, which will be holding its deliberations in the interests of the entire nation, should be able to work calmly, in an orderly atmosphere and in a creative way.

[Question] Excuse me for interrupting, but is not that contradicted by the latest news according to which parallel to the Central Committee session another party forum was holding a meeting in Katowice? It seems to me that this is some kind of counter-Central Committee. Who are its members? Has it got mass support and so on?

[Answer] Well, I wouldn't call it a counterplenum or counter-Central Committee. After all, these clubs do not seek to obtain any kind of organizational independence nor do they want any splits within the party. On the contrary, the majority of these clubs and forums stress that they want to help in the implementation of the resolutions of the most recent Central Committee plenums. However, these forums also level criticism. Thus, for example, the participants in the Katowice Forum expressed the view, supported by dozens of communist debating forums that have joined them, that the party is under threat from right-wing opportunist forces, and they expressed this view at the time the Central Committee was in session. They want to bring this to the attention of congress delegates as well as the slander campaign that has been launched against the Katowice Forum, and this is why they dispatched an open letter. From all this, I would conclude that this is not a counterforum and there is no counter-congress in preparation because they, too, will present their views to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

[Question] They themselves will not, surely, be attending the congress?

[Answer] On the contrary, there was a program on television the other day which included a discussion with participants in the Katowice Forum and the forum does have members who will be attending the congress as delegates, and they are workers. You asked me earlier on what might disrupt the congress. It is far less the ideas of the Katowice Forum that may disrupt the congress and far more the matter of strikes. After a break of 3 months there were strikes again this week and this is, indeed, very disrupting. I can also sense one more danger, namely the dockworkers' strike, the strike proposed by their Solidarity trade union. It took place this week but it has not yet ended because, according to a television interview, this protest action has been suspended for only 1 week and this week will expire on the second day of the congress.

[Question] According to indications the forthcoming congress is expected to resolve a comprehensive set of problems. There are expectations both in Poland and outside the frontiers of that country, that the party is to be strengthened, the division of authority be brought to an end, the safeguarding of the socialist nature of development, the consolidation of the situation, the consolidation of the economy are to be accomplished, and I could go on and on. I believe it would be difficult to predict whether the PZPR is capable, in the present situation, of resolving all these difficult tasks at the congress. Rather, I would like to ask: How long is the congress likely to last?

[Answer] It is opening on Tuesday and should end on Friday. Moreover, it has a very packed agenda and it has to carry out many tasks. I, too, would not want to make predictions. One thing I do believe, though I am not sure about it, is that the congress should perhaps be concluded by 22 July, Poland's National Day, the day on which the liberation of Poland is celebrated.

Katowice Meeting

LD111554 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] The conference of party forums which was formed in Poland recently has warned that a rightwing opportunist danger threatens the Polish party's Marxist-Leninist character. Delegates from 12 cities stressed at the meeting in Katowice that they will demand from the party congress that it should identify who stands behind the press and public criticisms against documents of the party forum.

KAMPUCHEAN FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS KADAR, OTHERS

LD102012 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the party Central Committee, received the Kampuchean foreign minister in Budapest. Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, gave a briefing on the implementation of the resolutions passed by his party's congress and on the tasks confronting the country.

Janos Kadar expressed the solidarity of the Hungarian people with the fight being waged by the Kampuchean patriots for the preservation of their country's independence and social progress.

Hun Sen was received by Gyorgy Lazar, head of government, and Andras Gyenes, secretary of the party's Central Committee. On this occasion, a (?memorandum) on cooperation between the two parties for the upcoming years was adopted.

The Hungarian-Kampuchean foreign ministerial talks began in the afternoon. Frigyes Puja and Hun Sen discussed international issues and relations between the two countries.

Meets Gyenes

LD101814 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 Jul (MTI)--Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Friday met with Hun Sen, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and of the Political Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. During the meeting marked by cordiality and a spirit of internationalist solidarity the discussants reviewed the relations of the HSWP and the Kampuchean party and adopted a promemoria concerning the cooperation of the two parties in the coming years.

The meeting was attended also by Istvan Varga, deputy head in the HSWP CC, and by Khuon Ran, Budapest ambassador of the Kampuchean People's Republic.

In the afternoon the Hungarian-Kampuchean foreign ministerial talks commenced in Budapest. Frigyes Puja and his counterpart Hun Sen exchanged views about international questions and reviewed the bilateral relations.

This meeting too was attended by Ambassador Khuon Ran.

SYRIAN PARTY OFFICIAL GIVES NEWS CONFERENCE

LD101622 Budapest MTI in English 1013 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 9 Jul (MTI)--"The relations between our parties and countries are excellent and developing well for the good of both peoples. There is common desire for consolidating these ties. We held concurrent views on every topic that came up for discussions," said 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Syrian Ba'th Socialist Party, at a press conference in Budapest on Thursday. The Syrian party leader has been in Hungary since July 6 at the head of a delegation invited by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

Answering questions, 'Abdallah al-Ahmar emphasized that relations between the Syrian Arab Republic and the countries of the socialist community including Hungary, are friendly and are based on firm principles reflecting the policies of these countries' parties. "We are optimist regarding the development of these ties because numerous possibilities exist for it. My visit, too, is aimed at expanding these links," said the Syrian party's deputy general secretary. He recalled that following the 1963 revolution his country selected the path of socialist construction and those economic-social changes got underway whose was to effect socialist transformation in the country. [as received] In this context he emphasized: "The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries support our economic plans as well as our political struggle. The assistance of the socialist countries extends to several spheres and it is an unconditional and genuinely friendly help. We hold particularly important various treaties with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries."

Speaking about the Middle East, 'Abdallah al-Ahmar underlined that Syria condemns Israel's aggression directed against his country, Lebanon, the Palestinian people and the entire Arab world. He added that his country is fighting for regaining its land held under occupation. "In our view a basic condition for just peace in the Middle East is the restoration of the rights of the Arab peoples, particularly those of Palestine Arab people including their right to establish an independent state. The main obstacle of peace is Israel's constant and continued aggression." He mentioned that when talks begin in Lebanon between various affected sides, Israel at once interfered to frustrate the parleys. "The basic condition for settlement is that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and recognize the rights of the Palestinian Arab people."

In his press conference, 'Abdallah al-Ahmar went on to emphasize that from the very beginning Syria has opposed the Camp David deals which hurt the interests of peace and pose a very grave danger to the region. He also referred to the visit of American Secretary of State Haig to the Middle East aimed at evolving a new alliance against the alleged Soviet danger and to divert thereby the attention from the basic problem of the area. "The peoples of the region, however, know that the Soviet Union is their friend and it supports their just and legitimate cause. These peoples also know that Israel and the United States are threatening their security, peace and territories."

Delegation Departs

LD112320 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] The Syrian Ba'th Party delegation which, led by Deputy Secretary General 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, paid a visit to Hungary, has now left Budapest. Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, held talks with the guests.

The communique issued on the visit notes that an exchange of views was held about the further development of friendly relations between the two peoples and parties. With reference to the international situation it was noted with anxiety that the achievements of detente have come under threat. The unity and joint action of all progressive and peaceloving forces in the interests of preventing the realization of imperialist plans are considered to be of particular importance. The importance of the earliest possible opening of Soviet-U.S. talks was stressed. During the discussion of the situation in the Middle East the representatives of both the Hungarian party and the Syrian Ba'th Party resolutely condemned the reactionary plans directed against the Arab nation and the Arab liberation movements. They reasserted their view that the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people are the preconditions of a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis. They also reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the progressive forces of Lebanon.

REPORTAGE ON 12TH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Plenum Overview

LD101820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] was held in Warsaw today. The session was chaired by the First Secretary of the Central Committee Stanislaw Kania. The session's agenda included matters connected with the preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress as well as an examination of a report on the activity of the commission set up at the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to assess the progress to date and to accelerate the work concerning the issue of the personal responsibility of party members in managerial posts and to present appropriate proposals on this matter to the party Central Committee.

A report on the progress of the report-back and election meetings and conferences in party organizations and on the preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress was presented by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

The next speaker was Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, who presented information on draft reports and programmatic papers prepared for the ninth extraordinary party congress. These documents are the report of the Central Committee for the period from the eighth congress until the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the report of the Central Party Control Commission, the report of the Central Auditing Commission, the draft programmatic resolution of the ninth congress, the draft amendments to the statute of the PZPR, and the draft congress resolution on the centennial of the Polish workers' movement.

Government prepared documents are forming an integral part of the congress materials. The documents are: a report on the state of the economy supplemented by corresponding statistical data; a program for the overcoming of the crisis and the stabilization of national economy; and trends of the economic reform.

The report of the Central Committee described, among other things, the activity of the central party authorities and organs, changes in the numeric state, social and professional composition of the party, the report-back and election campaign of the PZPR, the party's ideological and propagandistic activity, and its activity in support of socialist democratization and self-government.

The course and results of preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the work of the Central Congress Commission were presented. Much time was devoted to problems of the party's international activity, (?including) consultations with the communist parties of the socialist countries.

During the past period, which was filled with events of historic importance, the party has been facing immensely complicated political tasks connected with the deepest socio-economic and political crisis. The party leadership which emerged at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum decided on solving social conflicts through dialogue and agreement. At subsequent plenary sessions the Central Committee came out in favor of their continuation, seeking a greater effectiveness of actions.

The process of socialist renewal initiated by the party, which embraces the restoration of Leninist norms of party life, the struggle in defense of the basic values of the socialist system and against its threats, the democratization of social life and the development of social self-government, has met with the support of society.

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries are vividly interested in the process of socialist renewal in Poland. They are expressing their understanding for the adopted PZPR program of actions and they are giving us extensive aid. The PZPR Central Committee has accepted a letter from the CPSU Central Committee as a sign of deep concern for the development of the situation in our country and the prospects for the development of the socialist system in Poland.

At the 11th Central Committee Plenum the conformity of assessments of the two parties was confirmed as far as the development of the situation in Poland was concerned. This was expressed in the resolution of the 11th plenum, which confirmed the desire of the PZPR for consistent actions in defense of socialism.

During the subsequent proceedings a speech was delivered by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who is chairman of the commission for the assessment of the progress and the acceleration of the work in the investigations of the question of personal responsibility of members of the Polish United Workers' Party holding leading posts; the commission was set up at the 10th Central Committee Plenum. Grabski informed the plenum that the commission had completed its activities within the time limit fixed by the Central Committee, and has submitted an account of the commission's work; he also proposed relevant motions. The speaker noted that the problem of responsibility for the origin of the social and political as well as economic crisis--the consequences of which are felt by the whole nation--has become an important factor which is a condition for the recovery of trust in the party and in the authorities of People's Poland. Tadeusz Grabski proposed motions submitted by the commission with regard to the responsibility of persons whose cases it dealt with, and also motions concerning the establishment of institutional guarantees for the future.

A debate took place in connection with the issues raised in the report of the commission. The speakers in the debate included Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK].

Following a proposal put forward by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee, the plenum adopted a stand on the subject of the explanations and statements made in the discussion. Later the plenum decided, with two abstentions, to take cognizance of the report and the proposals of the commission set up by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The concluding speech was delivered by Stanislaw Kania who, addressing himself to those present, said, among other things:

Our work and its values will be assessed by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party; the real worth of this work will be proven by time--the time of struggle; our activities will be judged by history. This undeniable work constitutes the merits of precisely this Central Committee--with regard to the party and the nation. It was this Central Committee that has mapped out the line of the defence of the socialist character of the renewal of our life. Stanislaw Kania drew attention to the fact that it was within this group of people that such values as the climate of the recent party discussions, stern appraisal and great candor have gained importance. We are ending our session, he stressed, with a feeling that we have achieved a great deal. Let the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party define the best possible line of the party's action and such a composition of the new Central Committee that will work even better in accordance with present and future requirements.

The session of the plenum was concluded by the signing of the Internationale.

Barcikowski Addresses Plenum

LD101218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee has begun in Warsaw.

In accordance with the approved agenda, the floor was taken by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who presented a report on the course of the report-back and election meetings and conferences in party organizations and on the preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress.

He stated that the election campaign took its course within the time fixed at the ninth plenum. It began during a heated discussion within the whole party on the reasons for the crisis and ways to overcome it. A new element in this debate is the draft of a new PZPR statute and the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress. In discussion at party meetings and conferences, Kazimierz Barcikowski said, sociopolitical themes had predominated. A great deal of time was also devoted to matters of settling accounts. Most speakers took an understanding attitude to the contents of the letter from the CPSU Central Committee and to the decisions of the 11th plenum. The resolutions of that plenum had a positive effect on the course of the report-back and election conferences and on the elections in the party.

In the next part of his speech the secretary of the Central Committee submitted an analysis of the make-up of delegates to the ninth congress with regard to their party [word indistinct] age, origins and education. He reported, among other things, that the delegates include 85 comrades from among current members of the central party authorities. The number of worker delegates is unsatisfactory, as is the number of farmers, women and young people among the delegates. The speaker stressed that he hopes the ninth congress will serve to consolidate the party and to strengthen its links with working people and to restore its credibility.

The plenum session is continuing.

Olszowski, Grabski Speak

LD101346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] The 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is deliberating in Warsaw. The deliberations are chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee. A report on the course of report-back and election meetings and conferences in party organizations and on the preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress was presented by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski. He voiced the hope that the coming congress will serve to consolidate the party, strengthen its bonds with working people and restore its credibility.

Politburo member and party Central Committee Secretary Stefan Olszowski then presented a report on the drafts of the report and programmatic documents prepared for the ninth extraordinary congress. These documents comprise a report by the Central Committee on the period between the eighth and ninth congresses, a report by the Central Party Control Commission, a report of the Central Auditing Commission, a draft of the program resolution of the ninth congress, a draft of the changes in the PZPR statute, and a draft of the congress resolution for the centenary of the Polish workers' movement.

The documents prepared by the government are an integral part of the congress materials. They include a report on the state of the economy, augmented by the appropriate statistical data, a program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the national economy and the directions of the economic reform.

The fraternal parties are vitally interested in the problems of socialist renewal in Poland. They express understanding for the approved program of action by the PZPR and give us far-reaching help, Stefan Olszowski said. The PZPR Central Committee interpreted the letter from the CPSU Central Committee as a sign of profound concern about the development of the situation in our country and about the prospects of the socialist system of government in Poland. At the 11th Central Committee Plenum the concurring assessments of both parties was confirmed on the topic of the development of the situation in Poland.

This was expressed in the plenum resolution confirming the determination of the PZPR to act consistently in the defense of socialism.

In the further course of the debates, Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Grabski presented the report of the activity of the commission, set up at the 10th Central Committee Plenum for assessing the course and accelerating the work on the question of the personal responsibility of PZPR members in key posts.

Tadeusz Grabski presented the conclusions of the commission concerning the responsibility of the persons it dealt with, as well as conclusions concerning the establishment of institutional guarantees for the future.

Grabski Plenum Speech

LD102340 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--Taking the floor at the 10th PUWP CC plenary meeting today, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Tadeusz Grabski presented a report reviewing two months of work of the party commission charged with assessing the todate course and accelerating work on the question of accountability.

The following criteria served as a basis for the commission's work on the problem of accountability:

First, political responsibility is borne for activities of a political character.

Second, for common offences there must be appropriate penalty regardless of the offender's position.

Third, provisions of the penal law are to be applied in cases when leading state functionaries have been found guilty of having taken particularly harmful decisions.

Giving the present state of the penal law, in the experts' opinion, only persons who worked directly in the state and economic apparatus can be impeached.

Because of the absence of a legal basis and unavailability of appropriate regulations of the penal law, it was impossible to formulate conclusions concerning party functionaries with regard to their political activity and its consequences and refers such cases to the prosecution organs.

The present legal framework, according to experts' opinion which the commission fully shares, only allows for possible punishment of state and economic functionaries after they have been found guilty of having exceeded their powers or dereliction of duty. This, of course, is out of proper proportion to the magnitude of the social and economic effects of the [word indistinct] decisions. In spite of this disproportion, however, the very fact of taking steps by the Prosecutor's Office and, after the [words indistinct] formulation of an indictment against a former prime minister or, possibly, other former members of the government leadership would set a precedent in our history. It is for the first time that state leaders may stand trial for bad management of the state. This very fact, virtually unheard of in contemporary Europe, calls for great prudence and reflection. It will have a vast political significance and will bear immensely on the future system of decision taking by the government.

As regards accountability for political activity, I must say that the commission's conclusions regarding the former first secretary and other former members of the Political Bureau or CC secretaries also (?have) a precedent.

The fact is that no one has ever applied such sanctions as investigating the possibility of their continued membership of the Polish United Workers' Party, of depriving them of possession of state decorations awarded during the past ten years, and of taking away an unjustified immunity, inconsistent with the sense of justice, affording them protection from penal liability for the breaking of law.

Thus, the commission's conclusions constitute an historic precedent and a serious warning for the future. They are a form of severe condemnation of mistakes and incompetence. On his part everyone concerned, as an individual, must experience this process of political degradation exactly as it is experienced by every leader who is publicly stripped of his rank, decorations, fame and honours. This is not a question of shame or degradation, but one of a just assessment and punishment. It is with such burden of responsibility for the committed errors that they will have to lie on, and this is how their names will be inscribed in history.

The party control commissions have worked very hard. They investigated 16,094 cases of accountability for the crisis, abuse of political ethical and legal norms, applying to the period between the 8th and 9th congress. The guilt of 4,990 party members has been proved and 11,104 members have had their name cleared.

So far 883 persons have been expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party. Of that number, 508 held leading positions. That number includes 15 senior officials from the central and voivodship power apparatus. In the latter group are 18 persons recalled from the composition of the Central Committee and the Central Party Control Commission, and 18 were recalled from their posts.

The Supreme Control Chamber, reviewing a period from the 6th PUWP CC Plenum, investigated cases of 9,793 persons of whom (?4,030) held managerial positions at various levels. Investigation of 7,149 [words indistinct] completed including cases of 2,819 persons who held managerial posts. Among those found guilty were [figure indistinct]. Cases of 531 persons have been referred to the [word indistinct] prosecution, 427 persons have been relieved of their posts.

Preparatory procedure has been completed with regard to 146 cases applying to 285 persons. Indictments have been formulated against 59 persons. Temporary rest was instituted for 85 persons, all of whom filled leading posts. Among them were 8 party office holders.

Altogether the accountability procedure covered nearly 26,000 persons, but only 12,000 have been found guilty. Of that number, about 3,400 held [words indistinct], administrative or political functions at various levels. It can be assumed that the accountability in procedure is drawing to a close.

Tadeusz Grabski stated that a number of problems arise from the commission's work.

First, it must be resolved whether the accountability of members of the former party leadership who were not in the government can and should be limited to political responsibility only, which means removal from all positions held, what has already taken place, and a possible removal from the party and stripping them of their decorations awarded during the past ten years.

[Word indistinct] case, whoever, as a citizen, has violated the law will be liable for punishment regardless of his past services.

Second, it must be decided whether the Prosecutor's Office should investigate the activity of the former prime minister which could lead to his being tried for (?exceeding) his authority or derelection of duty with harmful consequences for the society and the state regardless of the fact that, to be exact, the appropriate regulations of the penal code are inadequate considering the magnitude of the problem.

However, the commission's proposal is for cases of former vice-ministers and former Political Bureau members, whose responsibility is defined in resolutions of the 6th and 7th PUWP CC plenary meetings to be examined by the Central Party Control Commission which should decide on their continued party membership and decide that they should be stripped of state decorations.

Third, the commission is asking the Central Committee to take a stand on the commission's conclusions concerning establishment of institutional guarantees in the PUWP statute and provisions regulating the functioning of the state.

The conclusions concern the party itself, especially the methods used by members of the party leadership and emphasize the need for the Sejm to define in detail the extent of responsibility and scope of competence of the party organs.

Other problems to be reviewed include, above all, the system by which the Central Committee should exercise control, the mode of functioning of its executive organs, such as, for example, the irregularities fraught with such serious consequences could be nipped in the bud. The commissions's report contains part of such concrete proposals. Nonetheless, the commission deems it indispensable that systematic periodical control of the activity of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat should become an established political practice.

More on Grabski Speech

LD102002 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Report on speech by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at the 10 July session of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the commission for the appraisal of the progress and acceleration of the work in the investigation of personal responsibility of party members holding leading posts, spoke at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum today. He informed the plenum that the commission completed its work within the time limit set by the Central Committee and submitted the report on the work of the commission. In the present position created by the terms of the criminal code of law [words indistinct] it is possible to formulate charges and indictments only with respect to persons who acted directly within the state or economic apparatus.

The legal position, Tadeusz Grabski continued, permits one only to punish state and economic management officials against whom charges of crimes were proven with regard to abuse of power or failure to act. Naturally, this does not take into account the proper ratio between their erroneous decisions and the magnitude of the social and economic consequences of these decisions, but even despite this disproportion the very fact of instigating proceedings by the Public Prosecutor's Office and forwarding, after evidence was obtained, the indictment to the courts with respect to the former premier or, perhaps, other former members of the leadership of the government, would create a precedent in our history. For the first time, statesmen may be facing the court, accused of directing the state badly. This fact, which has no precedent anywhere in present-day Europe, requires profound study and reflection. It will be of extremely great political importance and it will affect, to an enormous extent, the future system of adopting decisions by the government.

The principle of uniform responsibility of everyone, irrespective of the post held, for the infringement of the laws and for common crimes requires no additional justification. However, when the question arises of responsibility for activities of a political character, Tadeusz Grabski stated that the proposals put forward by the commission with regard to the former first secretary of the Central Committee and other former members of the Politburo or Central Committee secretaries are also without precedent.

In fact, nowhere and never have sanctions so far been applied in the form of the study of the possibility of their continued membership in the party, of depriving them of the honor of holding state decorations awarded in the last decade as well as the removal of unjustified immunity--that is, protection contrary to the sense of justice against criminal responsibility for offenses which they personally committed against the law.

The proposals of the commission, therefore, constitute an historic precedent and a great warning for the future and present, a form of stern condemnation of blunders and incompetence. Tadeusz Grabski continued by saying that every one of these persons, as a human being, must experience this period of political degradation in the same way as any commander who is publicly deprived of his rank, decorations, fame and honor. It is not a question of the shame of humiliation incurred; what matters is a just appraisal and punishment. This burden of responsibility for the mistakes committed will remain with them throughout their lives, and this is how their names will go down in history.

Throughout the country the process of bringing to account people guilty of misconduct covered almost 26,000 people, but charges were proven with regard to 12,000 persons, of whom about 3,400 held senior executive posts in economic management, in administration or in the political system (?of the PZPR). (?It can be said) that this process is nearly complete, although judicial investigation and court proceedings must still continue, Grabski said.

Moczar Plenum Speech

LD111344 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Report on speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 10 July session of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] defined his attitude toward the theme which was elucidated at the 12th plenum by T. Grabski.

As NIK chairman for the last 10 years, M. Moczar said, I want to stress that we have all the time striven to serve the party and people effectively with objective analyses of the current economic situation and by submitting to the leadership relevant information in which we spoke also about the causes for the emergence of evil.

In 1971 the NIK issued for members of the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat and the Government Presidium only the first bulletin on the current results of control. I was [word indistinct], however, through [word indistinct], that this type of information should not be circulated through such a wide range of readers, since the NIK viewed everything too somberly. It would suffice for three or four men from the leadership with a direct interest in this to be informed of the results of the NIK, M. Moczar went on to say.

In the period from January 1976 to December (?1980, this) difficult, most difficult period for the NIK, there were included in the bulletin (?of the Central Committee Secretariat) 142 thematic reports in all on striking (?findings) by the NIK. Independently of (?the information) contained in the bulletins, the members of the Politburo, Central Committee Secretariat and Government Presidium received systematic thematic information on the most important control findings by the NIK. The competent figures in the party leadership and government were informed on all questions. This information was received with (?distrust), and we were recommended to give it [words indistinct] of the Council of Ministers, which would decide whether it could be submitted to the Sejm.

In the period from 1976 to [word indistinct] February [words indistinct] 154 reports and special pieces of work were submitted to Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, said the NIK chairman.

They stressed the need to make (?decisions) aimed at eliminating the shortcomings and irregularities which had been revealed in various social and economic spheres.

Between 1972 and 1980 Edward Babiuch, Central Committee secretary, who on behalf of the Central Committee was exercising control over NIK activity, was presented with 131 reports overall on questions demanding particular interest by the party leadership.

I am presenting, comrades [words indistinct] (?so that neither) Edward Gierek nor anyone else should have the right to make the excuse that he knew nothing or that the NIK [words indistinct].

Then M. Moczar stressed that throughout the whole (?decade) there has not been a single [word indistinct] which had cast doubt on the accuracy of the NIK's substantial findings.

We returned many times to many problems of great state significance. Thus it was, for example, with the falsification of reporting, M. Moczar said. Unconscientious reports and statistical information in all branches of the economy were revealed by the NIK as early as the first half of the seventies, and the chamber reported the more serious cases to the political and party leadership. Unconscientious presentation of production, investment, agricultural and transport results and results in the sphere of the provision of work and wages created the possibility of obtaining undeserved bonuses and awards and led to the falsification of basic preconditions in planning processes and in decision-making. A side-effect of such a practice was the concealment of incorrect management.

As certain comrades know, there existed two or even three levels of access to information about the factual state of our economy, including that of our indebtedness.

The results of our control--I stress this again, M. Moczar said--were systematically submitted to the political and party leadership. Thus if anyone from the leadership at that time claims that he did not know the NIK findings it is only because he did not want to know them, because they did not correspond with the officially dominant propaganda.

At the sixth plenum the Central Committee asked the NIK to investigate together with the financial control bodies all the dubious private capital investments made in the seventies.

The NIK chairman went on to say that, as has already been repeatedly reported, an enormous amount of work has been done in the last 9 months. From a total of 24,000 letters and reports received by the NIK it has been established that there were about 10,000 people against whom various accusations have been made.

In the initial phase of this campaign I did not envisage that we would disagree to such a great degree with such a numerous group of senior and often previously honored party comrades in our appraisal of what a communist is and is not allowed to do, for there are questions concerning which there should be no differences of opinion among communists. I include among these fidelity to ideological principles and an uncompromising attitude toward any evil and demoralization. In these matters the party as a whole, and not merely its Central Committee, should adopt an unambiguous and decisive stance. I consider that this is one of the basic conditions, whose fulfillment will ensure our party a credible and leading place in this great and stormy process of moral and political renewal in our country.

The revolutionary parties which have always headed our working class, including our Polish Workers' Party, and then the PZPR, have overcome many obstacles and difficulties in their path. I would use the word "crises" without hesitation. What the party is experiencing today is without analogy in the past either of our party or of its revolutionary predecessors, M. Moczar said.

We should say to those who have contradicted the norms which bind us communists that they have harmed not only themselves--for that would only be part of the trouble--but above all the party.

If the former first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee acted immorally, he thus provided an example to persons of weak character who acted in similar fashion. In such a situation demoralization easily filtered through to various levels of economic administration.

Many cases have been found to be criminal activity, in connection with which we have made the appropriate proposals to the investigative organs. The actions of people who have broken the law will in the final analysis be evaluated by the judicial organs in accordance with the principles of legality.

There also exist problems stemming from the nonobservance of the principles of social justice. They consisted in the use of imaginary responsibilities and posts with the aim of obtaining for the person concerned and those close to him an excessive and irregular quantity of apartments and dachas, moreover, without paying the due sum corresponding to the actual value of the properties. In all cases of this sort the NIK proposed the application of appropriate sanctions against guilty members of the PZPR and of other political parties. Enterprises were obliged to recover the due sums and the aforementioned organs of state administration were always made aware when the need for applying disciplinary sanctions existed.

I want to draw the comrades' attention, M. Moczar said, to one more aspect of the activity of the establishment which I head. In the last 9 months the NIK has cleared 3,727 people of accustations made against them. They include 3,650 members of our party, including many well-known and valued figures in public, political and economic life. This concerns particularly honest, self-sacrificing and ideologically active party members who in their own circles were groundlessly suspected of abuses. This could be done only by the NIK. We helped to return dignity to them in their own circles. I consider, however, that their primary organizations should take up more decisively the defense of these comrades.

I cannot pass over in silence the fact, M. Moczar said, that there were also cases in which we acted as initiators of the submission of, or ourselves submitted, statements to the investigative organs on the institution of criminal proceedings for deliberate slander. The law should be the same for all, which means that it should also punish those who deliberately and for base motives publicly cast aspersions on and defame innocent people.

Here I would like to appeal to the staff of the press and other centers of the formation of public opinion to check very carefully the facts which they intend to publish and to try to express accurately the reports which they are given by the NIK. In this sphere it is very easy to do irreparable harm to an honest person. This is also the problem of loyalty to our establishment.

And here I want to clear up the matter of Comrade Karkoszka, who was justly indignant at the content of publications concerning him personally which appeared in the press. I have checked personally and I declare that the NIK has not passed on any information which would give grounds for the publication of such statements in the press.

A separate group of problems is engendered by the excessive enrichment of certain groups of the population within the framework of the nonsocialized sector of the economy. In this sphere there exist--against the backdrop of the weakness of our taxation and general financial system--very serious social problems, manifestations of demoralization, corruption, the evasion of binding norms, and so forth. These matters are being investigated by the financial control units and will be summed up at the end of the year. At the same time they need current intervention.

In evaluating the last 10 years, M. Moczar said, we come to the conclusion that one of the main sources of the crisis between society and authority was above all the fact that the executive apparatus--both party and state--managed effectively to free itself from the effective control of the ordinary members of the party, the working class and all society. The Leninist saying of "trust, but check" disappeared from the horizon. I want also to stress that the distortions and demoralization which appeared at various levels of state authority and administration were possible not only because mistaken economic decisions were made, but because incompetence was protected and a harmful cadre policy was pursued at virtually all levels of party and state authority.

They became possible above all because people at the central level created a very harmful system which made it possible effectively to escape public control and which created broad possibilities for voluntarism and disregard not only for matters of social development but also for basic economic laws. Thus a large proportion of the decisions made ran counter to common sense, and one decision replaced (?another) with no answer to the question: Why is another decision being made?

The truth, be it ever so bitter, has always been the source of the communist movement's strength, the knot which ties the party to the working class and all society. During the occupation period a lie was equivalent to betrayal. Today only the honesty and straightforwardness of party members can ensure the support of all society for our ideas.

Further on Moczar Address

LD110138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Report on speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 10 July session of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] During the session of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum yesterday [10 July] and the debate on the report of the commission called by the 10th plenum which examined the matter of personal responsibility of party members in leadership posts, Mieczyslaw Moczar took the floor, speaking as a political activist and the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK].

He stated at the outset that during the last 10 years the NIK had tried to effectively serve the party and the community by objective analyses of the current economic situation and presenting the leadership with reports which discussed the causes of the origins of evil. Competent persons in party and government leadership positions were informed about all matters. However, it was ordered that such matters should first be sent to the premier who would decide if they should be passed to the Sejm.

During the period from 1976 until the middle of February last year, Premier Jaroszewicz was directly presented with 154 reports which indicated the need to eliminate the uncovered negligence and irregularities in various spheres. Edward Babiuch was presented over the last 8 years with 131 pieces of information concerning matters requiring the particular interest of the party leadership. I am presenting this data, Mieczyslaw Moczar said, so that Comrade Edward Gierek, or anyone else, will have no right to excuse themselves by saying that they did not know about something or that they were not informed by the NIK about its findings.

The speaker went on: We returned many times to many issues of great state importance. This was, for instance, the case with the falsification of reports. The lack of reliable reports and statistical information in all branches of the national economy were noted by the NIK in the first half of the seventies and it bought the more important cases to the attention of the political and state leadership.

Speaking about the NIK findings, Mieczyslaw Moczar stated that the party as a whole, and not just its Central Committee, must adopt an unambiguous and resolute attitude toward them.

This is one of the fundamental conditions, the fulfillment of which will ensure for the party a credible and leading place in this great and stormy process of the moral and political renewal in our country. What the party is going through today has no analogies in the past, both in the past of our party and its revolutionary predecessors. We must say to those who clashed with the norms which are the duty of communists that they have harmed not just themselves--this would not be too bad--but that they have harmed first and foremost the party. In the past 9 months the NIK cleared 3,727 people of accusations made against them. In this group are 3,650 party members and among them there are many known and respected activists.

This applies, in particular, to honest and committed party members who in their milieu were groundlessly accused of committing abuses. There are cases in which for slander with premeditation we caused applications to be made or made out our own applications to prosecution bodies that criminal action be taken. The law must apply equally to everyone; thus those also should be punished who for base, premeditated reasons tolerate slander and the defamation of innocent people.

Mieczyslaw Moczar said that the excessive enrichment of certain groups of the population within the framework of the nonsocialized economy constituted a separate set of issues. There are in this sphere, against the backdrop of the weakness of our tax system and of our financial system in general, very serious social problems, and phenomena of demoralization, corruption and avoidance of current regulations. These matters are being examined by financial control units and will be summed up at the end of the year.

Assessing the past 10-year period, Mieczyslaw Moczar said that we can conclude that one of the main sources of the crisis between the public and the authorities was, above all, the fact that the executive apparatus--both the party and state apparatus--managed to free itself effectively from the control of rank-and-file party members, the working class and the whole of society. Degeneration and demoralization prevalent in various links of state authority and of the administration was possible because of the fact that incorrect economic decisions were taken and that a damaging incompetent cadre policy was protected and implemented virtually at all levels of party and state authority. This was possible above all because of the fact that people at the central level created a harmful system which made it possible to effectively avoid social control.

Mieczyslaw Moczar concluded by saying that the truth, even though it might be most bitter, has always been the source of the strength of the communist movement and the bond linking the party with the working class and the whole society. During the occupation lying meant the same as betrayal. Today it is only the honesty and veracity of party members which can achieve for our ideas the support of the whole of society.

Prokopiak on Personal Charges

LD111242 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Report on 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum proceedings, Warsaw, 10 July]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--Taking the platform in connection with matters touched on in the report of the commission created at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and also with speeches at the present plenum were: Alojzy Karkoszka, Central Committee member; Josef Kepa, Central Committee member; Ryszard Frelek, Central Committee member; Jerzy Urbanski, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; Wieslaw Bek, Central Committee candidate member and editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU; and Stanislaw Wronski, Central Committee member and editor-in-chief of the NOWE DROGI monthly.

Also rising to speak was Janusz Prokopiak, Central Committee member, who, as he noted, did not [as received] intend to deal with the matter connected with the one discussed at the plenum and which referred to certain accusations.

He said that he had experienced the events of June 1976 in his capacity as first secretary of the Radom Voivodship PZPR Committee. He was presenting this matter at the 12th plenum because on 22 June of this year [word indistinct] responsibility for these events had been placed on him at a session of the voivodship Front of National Unity committee. On account of this, a proposal had been submitted to the Sejm concerning depriving him of his deputy's mandate. The speaker pointed to the fact that the Central Committee ought to know of this. He expressed the view that the party leadership should also take a definite stand on such things.

Kania Discusses Accusations

LD111106 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Report on statements made by PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Warsaw, 10 July]

[Text] Concerning the fact that at the Central Committee forum various questions were touched upon which dealt with Central Committee members, comrades present at the plenum, Stanislaw Kania proposed that appropriate decisions be made. The Central Committee takes into consideration that with regard to Alojzy Karkoszka there have been and are no accusations of the type which were written about in the press and which resulted in a press conference at the WPK [not further identified] regardless of what has been reported. For comrades who are dealing with thousands of such matters, this is not a big mistake, but this matter concerns a person and therefore it is not a mistake but an offense against a person which has taken place and which cannot remain without a response by the party. All this should be cleared up. The Central Committee should also demonstrate that where a strict response is necessary, it will respond and where it is necessary to defend people, it will defend our comrades.

As for the questions raised by Jozef Kepa and Ryszard Frelek, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee expressed the opinion that as was clear from what had been said, the questions should be cleared up by Comrades Kepa and Frelek themselves. It was not necessary to rush into public statements until something had been finally cleared up.

Then Stanislaw Kania, referring to the speech by J. Prokopiak, said that from the whole course of the Radom events, their nature, the background to the demonstrations and the method of reacting to them, there were no grounds for making any claims against him. J. Prokopiak had maintained prudence, soberness of mind and courage at that time in contacts with people, even at those dramatic moments which were very difficult for him, too. Do not forget that at that time the voivodship committee's building was burning. This must also be taken into consideration in appraising the various conclusions on which accusations connected with the events of June 1976 in Radom are being founded. The plenum approved the point of view expressed by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

PZPR Plenum Resolution

LD102326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Resolution adopted at the 10 July, 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee approves the report presented by the commission set up at the 10th Central Committee Plenum to assess the course up to now and to accelerate the work on the issue of personal responsibility of PZPR members holding leading posts and to submit appropriate conclusions on the subject to the Central Committee.

The Central Committee endorses the findings of the commission which show that in the course of its work the evaluations of the causes and reasons for the crisis in Poland, as contained in the programmatic assumptions for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, have been included, and that the personnel decisions of the Fourth, Sixth and Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plena have not been questioned [zakwestionowane]. The picture of the causes and mechanisms which led to the crisis were expanded and developed by the commission which states and records the following: the faults of the decisionmaking system and its functioning; the lack of consistency in the activity of the Politburo and the government and the lack of control over decisions; the incomplete and marginally effective analysis by the Politburo of the main strategic actions and their results, and their non-submission to the deliberations of the Central Committee; the failure of the former Politburo and government to appreciate the ideological, social and political contradictions which were increasing as the years went by; the directing of the ideological and political life of the party by imposing from above the subjects for the conference, meetings and plenary sessions by means of letters and appeals; the formulating and finally giving up of the constitutional principle of social consultation before making important decisions; the limiting of the role of the Workers' Self-Government Conferences at the work enterprises and other forms of self-government; the domination in the former party and government leadership of opportunistic attitudes and the fact that most of the comrades who held leadership posts were directed by the principles of falsely understood loyalty toward the former first secretary of the Central Committee and the former premier; the lack of reaction to the stream of party and social criticism before the eighth congress and at the congress itself; and the nondrawing of real conclusions for the functioning of the party and in particular its leadership from correct evaluations carried out at the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in February 1971.

The PZPR Central Committee accepts the suggestions proposed by the commission. In the matter of general principles:

First: Political responsibility is borne for activity of a political nature;

Second: Penal responsibility must be borne for common crimes regardless of the function held; and

Third: For decisions whose effects are particularly harmful and which were made by the functionaries holding leadership posts in the state, once the crime has been proven it is necessary to apply the regulations of the penal law.

As regards persons in the former party and government leadership, irrespective of the sanctions imposed by the Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Central Committee Plenums, and as far as some comrades are concerned, by the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP], the Central Committee decides:

First: To submit the case of Edward Gierek to the CKKP in order to review his further membership of the PZPR; To apply to the Prosecutor General, in accordance with the demands of the law, to order the return to the state treasury of the property used by Stanislaws and Edward Gierek in Katowice and to conduct investigations into why all the costs of the construction of the house in Ustronie Slaskie which is the property of the Gierek family were not accounted for.

Next point: To submit the cases of Edward Babiuch, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, and Zdzislaw Zandorowski to the CKKP in order to examine the matter of their continuing membership in the PZPR; to apply to the Prosecutor General to start an investigation concerning the former premier, Piotr Jaroszewicz, in order to establish if he did not commit a crime under Article 246 of the penal code by exceeding his powers or failing to perform his duties fully. During this explanatory investigation the possible responsibility of other former members of the government leadership should also be examined.

[Next point]: To make it the duty of the Politburo to apply to the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland to cancel the resolutions made in the 1971-1980 period concerning the award of state decorations to the persons who bear special moral or political responsibility for the existing crisis, that is: Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Zdzislaw Grudzien, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk; Zdzislaw Zandarowski and also former ministers Adam Glazur, Franciszek Kaim and Wlodzimierz Lejczak.

As regards creating institutional guarantees in the PZPR statute and regulations governing the functioning of the state:

First: It is necessary to define the role and responsibility of the first secretary of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat and the principles of subordination of these bodies to the Central Committee.

Second: The most important strategic problems, intentions and decisions of the Politburo must be submitted to the Central Committee for deliberation. It [the Central Committee] must also carry out a systematic assessment of the sociopolitical situation, especially during periods when there are threats of conflicts.

Third: It must be defined that Politburo members and members of the Central Committee Secretariat have a duty to disclose their stands as regards most important problems of the socioeconomic and political life of the country. The members of the Politburo must have, at the same time, a statutory right and duty to appeal, whenever necessary, to the Central Committee plenum for its opinion.

Four: The principle of controlling the implementation of resolutions and reporting on results to elected bodies must be introduced and strictly observed. Equally indispensable is control of the activity of the party apparatus.

Five: The Politburo must present the Central Committee with periodical and systematic reports on its activity. The protocols of the meetings should contain the motives of the decisions taken and should show the opinions and attitudes of the Politburo members on every issue.

Six: Authentic consultations must be resumed as a method of coordinating the most important decisions in the party and in society.

Seven: The ninth extraordinary congress ought to define the leading role of the party in the socioeconomic life of the country, and in particular its strategic and conceptual, inspiratory and control functions.

Eight: In order to ensure the correct work of the government it is necessary to define in statutory form the role and competence of the government, as well as that of the premier, deputy premiers and ministers; to introduce the principle that the Sejm must pass a vote of confidence in the government every year based on an assessment of the implementation of its tasks and taking into account remarks and opinions formulated by the Supreme Chamber of Control; to give a concrete form to the principle of responsibility of the government and ministers. In resolving this problem the experiences of socialist countries should be utilized. The ninth extraordinary party congress or the newly elected Central Committee should undertake an initiative to this effect.

The Central Committee considers that further control activities by the Supreme Chamber of Control and finance control bodies ought to be carried out in accordance with existing regulations and that there is no longer any need to maintain the emergency procedure introduced as a result of resolutions at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum.

The Central Committee recommends that the report of the commission called by the 10th Central Committee Plenum should be made available to all the delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and that the record of the commission's work should be passed in full to the Central Archives of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Signed] The PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 10 July 1981

Kania Closing Speech

LD110944 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Report on closing speech by PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Warsaw, 10 July]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--To conclude the session, the floor was taken by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Our session, he said, concludes the work of the Central Committee elected at the eighth party congress. It has been our lot, S. Kania continued, to work during the most difficult period experienced by our party in the whole of its history, since the time it became the leading force in society and the guiding force for our socialist state. Our work and its significance will be evaluated by the congress. It will be tested by time, a time (?of struggle) which is being waged by our party and which will especially test it by its outcome and by the price that we shall have to pay for the victorious end to this struggle, inasmuch as there can be no other kind of conclusion, stressed Stanislaw Kania.

Certainly there have been plenty of shortcomings in the work of the Central Committee, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee noted further, and many words of criticism came from the party organizations. Sometimes this has been just a torrent of criticism addressed to the whole Central Committee and individuals in particular. However, the great services of this Central Committee to the party and Poland will remain an irrefutable truth. After all, it was this Central Committee which, at a time last summer when very serious strike conflicts had arisen, reached a correct diagnosis of them and a determination of their nature, and chose the correct direction for their resolution by political means, through agreement.

It is precisely thanks to our discussion and to the decisions adopted at the Fourth and Fifth Plena of the Central Committee that we chose the direction for socialist renewal of our life, the content of which we spoke on at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum and which was called upon in the practice of our socialist construction to return, by means of implementing the party's leading role, to the full brilliance of party life stemming from our ideals and Leninist principles. S. Kania also directed attention to the fact that it was precisely this Central Committee that mapped out the line for defense of the socialist nature of the renewal of our life. This was discussed at the Eighth, Ninth and the last, 11th, Central Committee Plena. These were indisputable services.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee also stressed that which is difficult to capture in decisions but which is connected with the climate created in the Central Committee. After all, this took place not as a result of the Politburo's permission. This climate was created by everyone--a very [word indistinct], a climate of open discussions, harsh appraisals and great sincerity. May this remain a value, the Central Committee first secretary said, which will be passed on to subsequent Central Committee groupings. This is very necessary for the party. This will contribute to its health, its ideological force [ideynaya sila] and its capacity to create a program and give harsh appraisals whenever any kind of deviation from the correct line appear.

Then Stanislaw Kania touched on the fact that over 30 percent of the present Central Committee membership and over 20 percent of the members of all elective [vybornyy] leading party organs had been elected to the congress. For the majority of comrades this means their relinquishing of posts in central party organs. However, S. Kania stressed that this cannot mean their withdrawal from active party work. After all, this is not connected with appointments but with convictions.

For each one we will create conditions such that in the future individual comrades can also display their potential in further serving the party and socialist Poland.

We are completing our work, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary then said, in the conviction that [words indistinct] did for the party, that we are handing our mandates to the ninth congress in an extremely difficult and still dramatic situation for the country. Let the congress determine the correct line and also choose a [Central Committee] membership which will act not only as we as members of the Central Committee have acted, but better, in accordance with demands. For every day brings increasing demands, in order to overcome the serious economic crisis, to restore the position and strength of the party and to put the brake on the progress of those processes on which Polish counterrevolution and international reaction pin their hopes. In this conviction, Stanislaw Kania said, in conclusion, I close our meeting with the very best wishes for our comrades.

The plenum concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

REPORTAGE ON 11 JULY CONGRESS DELEGATES MEETING

Kania Chairs Meeting

LD111006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Another meeting of delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has begun at the party's Central Committee. The meeting is chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee. The agenda comprises matters connected with finalizing preparations for the ninth congress. Kazimierz Barickowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, spoke during the meeting and he proposed the agenda of the central team of delegates.

The team next began examination of the draft schedule of debates of the ninth congress, the order of debates, the principles of elections and the draft composition of candidates to the central party authorities.

It is worth emphasizing that the proposals discussed at present on the [word indistinct] personal composition of the party authorities have been presented during the last few days to voivodship teams of delegates. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1300 GMT on 11 July carries a shorter version on the PZPR Congress delegates meeting which includes the following alternate rendering of this sentence: "It is worth emphasizing that the proposals discussed at present, with the exception of personal composition of the party authorities, have been presented during the last few days to voivodship teams of delegates."] The proposals discussed at present are taking into consideration the suggestions of voivodship teams of delegates.

A discussion has begun.

Proposals Adopted

LD111646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] The session of the central team of delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress has ended. The team accepted a proposal for the schedule of the session of the ninth congress, a draft of the session regulations and also a draft of the electoral principles that will be in force at the congress. Among other things, it was deemed advisable to present delegates with the proposal that the first secretary of the Central Committee be elected as early as the first day of the congress, in a secret and direct ballot.

More on Precongress Meeting

LD111846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] The last session of the central team of delegates before the ninth extraordinary party congress which begins on 14 July was held today in Warsaw. The session, which was chaired by the first secretary of the party Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, dealt with final preparations for the congress. It was thus strictly a working session. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presented the issues to be examined by the central team. They included drafts of the timetable and agenda, proposals on electoral rules at the congress and drafts of the composition of the party central authorities and of the compositions of the congress working organs. These proposals, apart from the drafts on the composition of the party central authorities, had earlier been presented for consultation to teams of voivodship delegates, and they now take into account further suggestions, comments and additions.

These proposals were adopted when the discussion ended. The central team of delegates will present them to the Ninth PZPR Congress. At the end of the session Stanislaw Kania took the floor. He thanked the voivodship and central teams of delegates for their work in the preparations for the congress. The value of this work, he said, will be confirmed at the ninth congress.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE ISSUES PRECONGRESS REPORT

LD121754 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 81

["Abridged text" of report of PZPR Central Committee for the period between the Eighth Congress and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 July (PAP)--The report of the Central Committee covers a period of 16 months--from the eighth to the ninth congresses. However, for obvious reasons it is concentrated mainly on the post-August period. The report does not cover economic problems which were presented in the "Report on the State of the National Economy."

1. The Activity of the Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat of the PZPR

Twelve plenary sessions of the Central Committee have been held since the eighth congress. The conglomeration of difficulties and errors in the party's policy in the seventies led to a dramatic conflict in the middle of 1980. The crisis had been building up since the mid-seventies. Its main source was the weakening and break-down of communications between the party leadership and the working class. Substantial distortions began to occur in the country's socioeconomic policy. In conditions of increasing difficulties, the leadership of the period was unable to work out a correct program, and even the program which existed was not implemented. The role of the central party bodies--the Central Committee, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the PZPR--decreased.

During the summer of 1980, the workers' protest in the form of strikes became nationwide and spontaneous. At regular plenary sessions of the Central Committee, which were held on 24 August, 30 August and 5 September, substantial changes were made in the personnel of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, including a change in the office of first secretary. It is necessary to note that an awareness of the need for radical changes in the party leadership grew slowly and gradually.

The sixth plenum, which worked in two terms, was of important significance for overcoming the conflict.

In the first part of the session, held on 5 September, a change was made in the office of first secretary, when Stanislaw Kania was elected to this office. The causes of the conflict were analyzed at the second part of the session--4-5 October. On the basis of a critical analysis of the events in the country, the need was stated to draft a report on the condition of the state and a new program with the support of the public's activity and faith. The plenum considered it advisable to convene a ninth extraordinary congress of the PZPR.

The discussions which lasted many hours, the meetings with workers' aktivs, and the efforts aimed at restoring trust in the party have been of great importance for the country, which has found itself on the verge of catastrophe. The activities of the Central Committee leadership have been directed toward resolving the primary political, public, social and economic tasks. Much attention has been devoted to drafting the programmatic principles of socialist democracy and to strengthening the role of the party, especially its place in the struggle for a socialist character in the renewal of the country's public life. The Central Committee has come out in support of a socialist character for trade unions. At the foundation of the new line were restoration of the fundamental values of socialism and of the ideological norms of Leninism, strengthening the positions of the working class, and restoring the principles of socialist morality. The Central Committee has been acting in a difficult, crisis situation, and for that reason has not always correctly managed to implement leadership of the party, an example of which is provided by the plenary sessions, the work of members of the central leadership, and that of the Central Committee commission on problems.

The document goes on to recall the themes and course of regular plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the personal decisions adopted at them.

In the period under review, the Politburo has held a total of 100 sessions (since 10 June, 1981). From the eighth congress to 5 September, 1980, there were 30 sessions of the Politburo. They were held every week and discussed various issues concerning the party, the state and the people. The decisions adopted on these issues were not implemented in full, and their implementation was not checked. There was a growing conviction that the drafting of a particular decision in written form almost automatically guaranteed its implementation.

Since the sixth plenum, the Central Committee Politburo has held 70 sessions. The Politburo has been engaged primarily in analyzing and evaluating the current political situation and in dealing with socioeconomic and intraparty problems. Sessions of the Politburo have been held regularly, every week. The need to adopt urgent decisions in changing circumstances has formed a new style of work. In open and all-round discussion, and taking various points of view into account, the Politburo has drafted general directions [ustanovka] and decisions. Secretaries and members of the Central Committee Secretariat, and other people with an interest in the theme being examined, have always been invited to the Politburo sessions. This has ensured a more profound examination of the problem being discussed. The Politburo has not always, in the view of party members, been ahead of events, and certain decisions have been taken too late.

A system of links between the Politburo and party organizations has been formed, and members of the Politburo have taken part in meetings of primary party organizations, sessions of voivodship committees and in report-back and election conferences. Nevertheless, the party leadership's contacts, especially with organizations at large industrial enterprises, have been insufficient. Attention was drawn to this by the ninth plenum. These contacts have improved considerably in the period of preparation for the congress.

Preparations for the extraordinary ninth congress have occupied an important place in the work of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, as well as at the local level.

The proposal to convene the congress earlier than provided for by the charter was put forward by Stanislaw Kania at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum. The precongress campaign and the discussion of theses for the ninth congress have liberated the energies of party members and directed them toward recognition of the crisis and overcoming it, a search for realistic paths for the country's development.

In the work of the central party leadership an important place was occupied by questions concerning economic and social politics. The commission on questions of economic reform, created by the Politburo of the Central Committee and the Government Presidium, prepared a draft plan for economic reform and a draft plan for measures to stabilize the economy. The party worked with the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party to formulate joint directions for a new agrarian policy. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR, with the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, adopted directions in the sphere of development of minor industry and crafts.

Changes in the Quantitative State and Socioprofessional Composition of the Party

During the period under review the quantitative state and socioprofessional composition of party ranks has changed. It is essential to isolate the phases. The first phase includes the first 6 months of 1980, during which, as before, a policy of rapid growth of party ranks was carried out.

The erroneous evaluation of the political and ideological conditions in the party, reliance on quantitative growth and the ensuing departure from principle qualitative criteria in the acceptance of new candidates led to the organizational weakening of the party and to the damping down of activity and capability for action of many basic PZPR links.

During the second phase, following the July-August events, the qualitative development of the party was sharply curtailed. From 1 January to 30 June last year 106,000 people were accepted as candidates of the PZPR. During the same period 26,000 people left the party ranks. From 1 July 1980 to 15 June 1981, these same facts are represented by the corresponding figures of 28,600 candidates for party membership and 308,600 people leaving the party. The more than tenfold increase in those leaving the party after June 1980 was linked with the surrender of party cards and the increase in demands made by leading party organizations to party members and candidate members.

The phenomenon of surrendering party cards acquired greater proportions after July 1980. The reasons for refusal to become party members were varied, but the underlying cause was undoubtedly the crisis which enveloped the party and the whole country. During the period from 1 August 1980 to 15 May 1981 party cards were returned by 197,300 PZPR members and candidate members; that is 6.3 percent of the quantitative composition of the party as of 1 July 1980. Seventy-two percent of those who surrendered their party cards were workers.

The party's election and report-back campaign began at the end of 1980. Drawing up new, democratic electoral principles which took into account the majority of proposals put forward by party organizations was an important element in preparing for this campaign. The temporary election procedure of leading organs and delegates in the Polish United Workers' Party, which was ratified by the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, provided for general secret elections, the proposal of an unrestricted number of candidates, and also the election first and foremost from the ranks of delegates.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, elections at meetings and conferences were conducted on the basis of these principles, although at many meetings the election procedure was modified or new electoral principles were established on the basis of this procedure.

Actions which contradicted the basic regulations of the electoral procedure did occur--for example, in the election of some delegates. The 11th Central Committee Plenum considered such actions to be invalid and stressed that restricting the passive electoral right was impermissible.

In the campaign which unfolded, both the problems connected with the elections and the procedural questions relating to them played an extremely important role--and oftern predominated meetings and conferences. This was understandable if one considers the political situation in which the campaign was conducted, the dissatisfaction with the former party leadership and the distrust felt for many party officials. Hence the desire to elect new comrades. As a result, the composition of the leading party organs was renewed to a considerable degree.

At the same time, many honest and experienced comrades were removed and the balance between the principle of replaceability and the necessity for a certain continuity was disrupted. The proportion of workers in leading organs and among delegates turned out to be proportionately low, and the atmosphere at many meetings and conferences did not encourage a thorough approach to the matter of ensuring proper representation of the chief classes and socioprofessional groups. All of this had a negative effect, primarily in the election of the appropriate representation of workers among delegates of all levels, but also in the leadership of party organizations and other instances. However, in spite of these defects the results of the elections may be considered to be generally positive. Comrades enjoying high authority in their collectives and who are devoted to their cause have been elected to the leading party organs and have been elected delegates.

The following problems were examined at meetings and conferences: the situation in the party, the acute economic crisis in the country, the determination of responsibility and specific local problems.

The majority of the proposals pointed out the necessity for the party to rapidly work out a program of action. At the same time it was stressed that this would quickly ensure the establishment of trust in the party and would strengthen its leading role. It was also stressed that a political program is the necessary condition for overcoming the critical situation in the economy.

Particular stress was laid in discussion, especially after the 11th Central Committee Plenum, on the need to fight both the dangers threatening socialism and the increasing social anarchy. Attention was drawn to the need to apply well-founded judicial measures in regard to opponents of socialism, whose actions undermine the system and our country's international alliances, (?and who) whip up social tension through irresponsible and aggressive propaganda in illegal publications, leaflets and so forth. The appraisals contained in the letter from the CPSU Central Committee were received with concern and understanding. Cases of hostile anti-Soviet activity were sharply condemned.

During the campaign about 600,000 members of primary and workshop party organizations were elected, including about 100,000 first secretaries of these organizations. Thirty-nine percent of the members are workers in primary and workshop party organizations, 10 percent are peasants, and 50 percent are office workers. Fifty percent of those elected have been elected for the first time. Among the first secretaries of primary and workshop party organizations, workers comprise 32 percent, peasants 15 percent and office workers 50 percent. Every second secretary was elected for the first time.

At the factory and institution conferences 45,000 members were elected to party committees; 42 percent are workers and 54 percent office workers. Sixty percent were elected for the first time.

Among the members of the 2,359 first level party organs, workers comprise 23 percent, peasants 20 percent and office workers 51 percent. Fifty-two percent were elected for the first time.

The Party Apparatus: Cadre Policy

Of all the political workers in the party apparatus, workers in local organs amount to 93.1 percent, and of this number 31.9 percent work in voivodship committees, 54.0 percent in town, rayon, commune-town and commune committees, 14.1 percent in works, institution, and higher educational establishment committees. The apparatus of the Central Committee amounts to 5.1 percent of all the political workers of the party apparatus.

In the period from the Sixth Central Committee Plenum to the end of May, essential changes have been carried out in the staff of the party apparatus, particularly in the staff of the party leadership at all levels. Thus, about 60 percent of new first secretaries of voivodship committees, about 40 percent of voivodship secretaries occupied in spearate areas, and more than 30 percent of representatives of voivodship party control commissions have been reelected. During the voivodship election campaigns, further changes took place at the voivodship level.

At the present time, the process of integrating the work of the apparatus with the measures of the commissions and of the party's social aktiv continues, while at the same time there is a move away from the narrow departmentalism which was preferred in the earlier conception of the activity of the sections. This is aided by the directives adopted by the Central Committee Politburo in April this year on the question of the role and primary tasks of the party apparatus. This document stressed with particular force the service role of the party apparatus in relation to the party organs and organizations. At the same time, it envisages that the activity of the party apparatus as a whole, its structure and the principles of its functioning should be defined after the party's ninth extraordinary congress.

Representatives of all the basic levels of the population work in the party apparatus. It is mainly young people, both in age and in their length of service in the apparatus, who work in the party apparatus. About 40 percent of the workers in the party apparatus are not yet 35 years old, and nearly half of them have not worked in the apparatus for longer than 4 years.

The persisting crisis has shown that one of the main weaknesses in the functioning of party apparatus was the concentration of attention on measures which often duplicated the work of bodies of the state administration to the detriment of the ideological and political work of the party. In particular, this was a result of shortcomings in the political education of a considerable part of the party apparatus.

Since the eighth congress, and particularly after the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, important cadre changes have taken place in the state administration bodies and in the management of the national economy. Since the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, changes affecting posts which are confirmed by the Central Committee constitute more than 25 percent. The fact that cadre decisions were adopted after studying the views of primary party organizations and relevant labor collectives is of considerable importance.

2. Ideological-Propaganda Activity: Political-Educational Work

In the period between the congresses, the political educational work of the party was conditioned by a growing divergence between the actual level of consciousness of [word indistinct] ranks on the one hand, and its generalized evaluation carried out by the eighth party congress on the other hand, as well as by the degree of the PZPR's ideological activity.

The principles of the party's political-educational work defined at the eighth congress bore the stamp of mistakes which burdened the party in the seventies.

This primarily concerned the thesis about the allegedly achieved moral-political unity of the people which replaced the class evaluation of actual Polish public life. Ideological-political work continued to be affected by simplifications in the understanding of the links between the base and the superstructure, which in extreme cases led to a growth of consumerist attitudes to life. Increased understanding of the fact that the propaganda of success could not continue was not accompanied by drawing up a new effective propaganda line which could promote a dialogue of the leadership with the masses.

A number of the principles of political-educational work remained correct. These were, in particular, tasks concerning the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the picture of the contemporary development of democracy, and the shaping of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. However, correct official principles were not at the basis of correct practice in the sphere of sociopolitical relations and national economic decisions. The concealment of inconvenient facts and occurrences, disregard for the need for honest information, and the imposing of unilateral appraisals and interpretations of questions of vital importance to the country were added to distortions in the field of ideology. The role and significance of Marxist-Leninist theory in the direction-making process also decreased. A political crisis built up which was not a crisis of ideological values, but was primarily a crisis of poor practice in implementing the ideas of socialism.

At its sixth and seven plena, the PZPR Central Committee embarked on a policy of agreements and renewal, believing the social conflict could only be settled by political means, and that this decision should bring social and political reforms. This line received general support from the party ranks. The development of events after the sixth plenum, however, did not create an atmosphere which would help constructive activity. Hopes grew that the activity of the leadership, particularly the executive state bodies, would strengthen order and social discipline and at the same time would give full scope for social initiatives directed toward overcoming the crisis and implementing the social agreements which had been concluded. In the social sense, these hopes have not been realized.

In the period under review, mistrust and criticism by the party masses in relation to the bodies and their apparatus have been maintained.

A sizeable group of party members, operating within Solidarity, who are under the strong influence of its leadership and consultative group, have been particularly strong in their criticism. Such a situation was at the same time the reason for certain fears and [words indistinct] activities on the part of party bodies and the apparatus.

The most important task in ideological-educational activity is recognized as being to deepen and disseminate the explanation of key problems of ideological life, particularly those which affect the process of socialist renewal, and also the struggle against any threats to it.

The first task in implementing socialist renewal of social and political life is recognized as an ideological struggle against extremism in behavior and views in the party ranks. The ideological-educational measures addressed to the entire people strengthen the tendency which favors the building of contacts and activity of the forces of reason and responsibility.

Groupings of the enemies of socialism have taken part in the on-going social processes. Acting with a certain amount of success from public opinion, they have mounted their activity by using the existing mood of public discontent. Their tactic of partial aims, which outwardly coincide with public aspirations, has led to party members at industrial enterprises having only a feeble awareness of the political struggle being waged and of the threats arising from this activity. Most importantly, the opponents' aspirations to weaken the internal cohesion of the party and undermine the bases of democratic centralism and the ideological bases have not been recognized.

Sections of the ideological front have taken part in the struggle against the enemies of socialism, by trying primarily to reveal their intentions and their practical activity, and to characterize their leaders with the help of publicity, with publications, and with channels of internal party information.

An important element in the entire activity of the party was the stimulation and organization of ideological-political and educational work among the masses, with the participation of the social and political organizations united in the Front of National Unity.

The activity of the links of the Front of National Unity, of the youth and women's movements, of many public organizations including the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of Lay Culture, has been concentrated on disseminating the decisions of the routine plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee and on defining the tasks for individual public groups.

During the preparations for the congress, efforts have been made to draw the necessary conclusions from the work experience of teams on the ideological front. For example, there should be a critical approach toward problems such as the comprehensibility of party documents, style and language of speeches and decisions, a rejection of formalism, and restoration of sincerity in talks and discussions in party life.

Theoretical-Research Activities

The Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, a party scientific research institution of the Central Committee, works in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory and party theory, and implements empirical research into key sociopolitical problems of the country.

In the recent period, the institute's work has been concentrated primarily on preparations for the ninth congress and drafting expert assessments and analyses for the needs of the Central Committee.

In its theoretical work, the institute has concentrated on the party's ideological problems and on popularization of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Within the framework of tasks connected with preparations for the ninth party congress, the draft entitled "The Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress--The Congress of Renovation and Reform of the Economy and State" was prepared by the institute. This work has been handed over to the commission for preparations for the congress. Empirical research has been undertaken which takes into account the opinions of party members on the theme of topical problems of intraparty and public life.

The institute is participating in the work of the commission on questions of economic reform and is drafting, at its request, evaluations and expert appraisals.

A number of expert evaluations, materials, documents and articles have been drafted in the sphere of problems [words indistinct] of the party and its ideological activity.

A report has been drafted on research on the theme "Public Opinion About the Country's Topical Problems." The institute's initiatives in the sphere of the party's ideological education work are of importance. In particular, a scientific conference on the theme "The Ideas of Lenin--The Basis of Friendship, Cooperation and Alliance Between Poland the the USSR" has been organized within the framework of these initiatives, and a conference on the theme "The 26th CPSU Congress--Problems of the Theory and Practice of Development of Socialism" has been organized jointly with the Ideoeducational Work Department.

The institute continued the cooperation begun previously with scientific party institutes in the socialist countries, primarily in the USSR.

In the complex new position of the party, the institute is confronted with the task of focusing its attention on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the basic problems serving the current work of the party, its theoretical foundations and its place and role in society, and transformations in the socialist political system. It is to this goal that the institute's choice of problems for scientific study and research is subordinated.

Activities of the Mass Media

In the period since the eighth congress, the PZPR Central Committee has concentrated its activities primarily on questions of improving the dissemination of information, perfecting cooperation with journalists, and enlivening and enriching the work of party organizations in editorial offices and publishing houses of newspapers and journals.

In fulfilling the tasks in the field of perfecting journalistic cadres, in the first half of 1980 a periodic assessment was made of the work of local press journalists, and groups were set up for the period assessment of journalists in the manufacturing and technical press. Work was also undertaken connected with the assessment of managing cadres in the press, radio and television.

After the eighth congress, an analysis and sociological investigation was carried out in connection with the situation of cadres in Polish journalism, and work was carried out in connection with improving the deployment of party forces in editorial offices.

In the period under review, the setting-up of voivodship party weeklies was completed in principle. However, difficulties in the supply of paper for the publishing market became more serious and it was necessary to impose temporary or permanent restrictions on circulation volumes.

A substantial effect on the party's entire activities in the mass media is exerted by the atmosphere and situation existing in journalism, and which up to the present time has to a decisive extent been formed under the influence of many years of [words indistinct] and especially (? as a result of) of the so-called propaganda of success.

This led to a situation in which, after the August events, expiatory moods had become particularly strong in journalism while at the same time there was a slackening of ideological views. This phenomenon made itself known, particularly during the extraordinary congress of Polish journalists.

Methods the party has used to date to govern the press, radio and television by instruction and to use the media as a tool proved ineffective in a specific political situation. At the same time, attempts by the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee and certain voivodship party bodies to develop new methods of influence did not bring the expected results. A considerable flow of opinions appeared in newspapers and on radio and television broadcasts. Antiparty and antisocial pronouncements appeared. The decisions of the 11th Central Committee Plenum determined new tasks in the party's administration of the mass media.

3. The Work of the Party for the Benefit of Socialist Democratization self-government

The Eighth PZPR Congress decided that one of the most important tasks in strengthening the socialist state was the further development and improvement of the system of institutions of socialist democracy and raising the effectiveness and quality of their functioning.

In its decisions the party has always emphasized the need for the activization of the Sejm and people's soviets in carrying out their constitutional functions. In recent years the work of the Sejm commission has been enlivened and the role of the Sejm, especially its legislative functions, has become noticeably enhanced.

However, in the past the Sejm and People's Councils did not cope satisfactorily with their tasks in social perception, insofar as in practice the administrative and executive organs had preference over the representative ones. This was connected with the discredited practice in the method of implementing of its leading role by the party in relation of the state and its functioning [sentence as heard]. The party line was too often translated into the language of state policy, primarily through the mediation of the administration and not through the representative organs. Favorable circumstances for changing this situation only appeared as the result of the process of socialist rejuvenation and as a result of the measures stimulated by the PZPR which were aimed at the realistic fulfillment by the Sejm and the People's Councils of their constitutional roles in the practical implementation of the idea of people's authority.

Within the framework of the policy of socialist rejuvenation, the necessity was once more confirmed of taking measures to ensure stable conditions for the Sejm's fulfillment of its supreme, legislative and controlling powers as set out in the Constitution.

At the initiative of the party leadership, last October the PZPR deputies' clubs, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party proposed a law which reestablished the role of the upper controlling chamber as the highest organ of state control, directly under the Sejm. In this way the Sejm obtained a source of information, independent from the government, which was of particularly important significance in the fulfillment of its controlling function in evaluating the activity of the government.

At the proposal of the PZPR deputies' clubs, the ZSL and the SD, the Sejm adopted changes in its charter extending the powers of Sejm organs and deputies.

In accordance with the decisions of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, a number of important changes were also introduced with regard to the People's Councils. In particular, the automatic linking of the function of first secretary of the PZPR committee with the post of chairman of the People's Council has been rejected. After considering the first secretaries' request to be released from their duties as chairmen of the People's Councils, the sessions of 46 voivodship People's Councils and 1159 local councils chose new chairmen from among the deputies. The makeup of the newly elected chairmen of the People's Councils is shown by the following figures: 25 are PZPR members, 9 are ZSL members, 3 are SD members and 9 are nonparty members. Among the chairmen of the local level People's Councils 53.7 percent are PZPR members, 38.8 percent ZSL members, 4.1 percent SD members, and 10.4 percent are nonparty members.

The Sixth and Seventh Plena of the Central Committee considered it essential to improve the legal bases of the activity of the local representative organs. This will create better conditions for these organs to achieve both the current and future goals of the socialist state. The new law on the People's Councils, which extensively raises the problems of self-management of tenants, will be an expression of this improvement. The law will be put forward for extensive nationwide discussion.

After the Sixth Central Committee Plenum 26 voivodas and 36 deputy voivodas were removed in 35 voivodships. (?The recommendation) of the People's Council is now of decisive importance in appointments for leading posts in ruling organs.

In the report-back period, particularly since the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, much attention has been paid to improving political interaction with the ZSL and the SD.

In December 1980 the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR with the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the SD, adopted a declaration on the interaction of the PZPR, ZSL and SD. The principles of party cooperation were defined in this document as all-round partnership, taking into account the independent participation of the ZSL and SD in working out and fulfilling the program of the development of socialist Poland. These principles were confirmed in the program documents at the Eighth Congress of the ZSL and the 12th Congress of the SD.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the ZSL adopted a program on the question of the key policy problems in the field of agriculture. Similarly, the question connected with the development of services and small scale production was solved jointly with the Presidium of the Central Committee of the SD.

The transformation of the harmonization commissions, [words indistinct] of political parties serves as evidence of the expansion of cooperation. Topics have been considerably expanded, and the holding of sessions of the commissions at all levels has become more frequent. This year commissions for cooperation at the lowest level were formed: They are in operation at 85 percent of the primary organizations.

In the period since the eighth congress, the Central Committee and local party organs and organizations have implemented a number of measures aimed at strengthening ties between (?the younger generation) and the party and at stimulating its public and production activities.

The growing difficulties and (?former) incorrect forms of work with young people have made it impossible to attain the goals set forth. As a result of the disparity between the younger generation's aspirations and the possibilities of realizing them, and also as a result of the lack of correspondence between the programs' plans and their actual practice, the economic, social and political problems of young people have become more and more acute. Discontent with party policy and dissatisfaction with the principles of the social policy have grown. The intensifying disparities between the ideals of socialism and social practice were one of the [words indistinct] of broad participation by young people, especially the young working class, in the events of August. For the first time in Poland's post-war history the younger generation, not rejecting socialism, came out against (?a considerable), departure from its norms and principles.

The (?tendency) to administer the youth movement and substitute decrees for political work met with all-round criticism. The youth organizations themselves were subjected to harsh criticism for programmatic errors, for a formalistic style of work and for insufficient expression of the broadly understood interests of the younger generation. The organized form of cooperation of young people's organizations, the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, brought disapproval.

In the post-August period, the youth movement became the arena of political struggle for its ideological principles, character and program. As well as existing organizations such as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Polish Scout Union, and the Socialist Union of Polish Students, there came into being the Union of Rural Youth, the Democratic Youth Union as well as the Independent Students Association. [passage indistinct] In this unusually complex [words indistinct] committee and local party bodies and organizations devoted much attention to the group of problems relating to the young generation and youth organizations.

On the initiative of the Politburo, a report was drafted on the conditions for the young peoples' start in life and work. From among members of the central party leadership, the Central Committee set up a commission for youth questions which analyzed the key problems of the young generation and of the youth movement, and provided an assessment of material relating to these problems for the Ninth PZPR Congress.

All the women's organizations are actively taking part in the changes taking place in the country in connection with the (?constructive) implementation of socialist renewal. The questions which they raise relate both to questions concerning the state as a whole, and to the new view of the role and tasks of organizations and the entire women's movement. [passage indistinct]

During its work, the commission for preparations for the congress also analysed proposals and demands with respect to questions of culture, science and education. Much time was devoted to problems of the young generation.

Particular stress was laid on the need for enriching the program of popular education with profound historical consciousness. This is essential for the forming of a patriotic and international outlook of youth.

In the precongress discussions, which served as a basis for the commission's activities, an important place was allotted to questions of the immutability of the principles of Polish foreign policy, the strengthening of ties of friendship, cooperation and alliance with the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the parties and peoples of the countries of the socialist community, and cooperation with all countries on the basis of strengthening detente and peace.

During the drafting process, account was taken of the widely expressed demand by party organizations to unmask the subversive role of imperialist and revanchist circles of the West, who are trying to slow down the process of detente and put Europe and the world on a path toward cold war and confrontation.

Particular attention was paid to the need to bring to the attention of all Poles the threat emanating from the activities of antisocialist forces, who are trying to undermine the territorial integrity of Poland and weaken the ties of our country with the fraternal socialist states, and to use our socioeconomic difficulties for their own ends.

During the precongress party discussions, all party organizations, organs, and members of the party, have had a chance to express their opinion on the plans contained in the documents drafted by the commission for the preparation of the congress. As a result of party discussion, thousands of proposals, recommendations and elaborations have appeared which will be used in editing the materials of the congress.

The International Activity of the Party

The implementation of the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Congress in the area of the party's and the state's international policy has taken place in conditions of a worsening climate of relations between East and West, and an increased threat to peaceful cooperation of states with different social and economic systems, which was founded on the right to equal security of all states and peoples.

The attempts systematically made and strengthened by the NATO countries to achieve unilateral military superiority are aimed at undermining the principles of peaceful coexistence adopted by the 35 states of Europe, the United States of America and Canada in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Revanchist circles are trying at the same time to call into question the finality and inviolability of the borders established at Potsdam along the Odra, Hysa-Luzycka and the Baltic coast, which was recognized by the FRG in the treaty of 7 December 1970.

The peace initiatives of the USSR and the entire socialist community aimed at limiting atomic and conventional arms and defending mankind from the threat of an atomic catastrophe are receiving no response from the Western states. The threat of a new stage in the arms race, which imperialism is trying to impose upon the socialist countries, is growing. The imperialist countries do not want to reconcile themselves with detente and with the people's will to independently decide their own fate. The NATO decisions on siting additional missiles with atomic warheads in the center of Europe should be viewed as especially dangerous. They represent a direct threat to Poland's security.

In the period since the Eighth PZPR Congress there has been a certain slackening of the pace and a reduction in the volume of our party's international cooperation. This has stemmed from the necessity to concentrate our attention on internal problems, mainly in connection with the crisis which began with the events of July and August of last year.

The party's international activities in the period under review have helped to further explain and interpret Polish problems to other parties.

The April 1980 meeting of fraternal parties in Paris, held at the initiative of the PZPR and the French Communist Party, was an important event in the international communist and workers' movement. The appeal adopted at the meeting calls on all progressive forces in Europe to cooperate in resolving problems of peace and disarmament and the most important problems of the whole world and of our continent.

Relations With Communist Parties in Socialist Countries

During the period under review, relations with the CPSU were of particularly great significance in interparty cooperation. After the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum our party's leadership maintained direct contacts with the CPSU leadership. In particular, meetings took place in October 1980 between Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, and Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU; talks took place between the PZPR delegation which participated in the work of the 26th CPSU Congress and the leadership of the CPSU; and talks took place between Mikhail Suslov, Andrey Gromyko and the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee.

Of great importance for the PZPR and the development of its activity were the December meeting in Moscow of the Warsaw Pact heads of states and the Sofia conference of the CEMA member-states' heads of government. [passage indistinct]

The fraternal parties take a lively interest in the process of socialist renewal in Poland. They show understanding for the work program adopted by the PZPR and render us far-reaching aid. At the same time, they express alarm in connection with (?manifestations) of anarchy and attacks on the socialist system in Poland. The PZPR Central Committee received the letter from the CPSU Central Committee in this spirit, imbued with concern for the development of the situation in Poland and about the prospects of the socialist system in our country.

INVITED DELEGATIONS BEGIN TO ARRIVE FOR CONGRESS

Cuban Delegation Arrives

LD122338 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 12 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Jul (PAP)--Delegations from fraternal communist and worker parties from a number of socialist states have been invited for the 9th PUWP Congress, which is due to begin on Tuesday.

The first to arrive was the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, led by member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee Carlos Rafael Rodriguez. Other members: member of the CC Jorge Lezcano and Cuba's ambassador in Poland, Raul Fornell Delgado.

The Cuban guests were greeted at Warsaw's airport by member of the PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau Mieczyslaw Moczar.

Soviet CPSU Delegation Arrives

LD131026 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jul (PAP)--A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee which is to take part in the work of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress arrived in Warsaw today.

The delegation is headed by Viktor Grishin, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Committee.

At Okecie Airport in Warsaw the guests were met by members of the leading organs (?headed by) Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

CEMA Members To Attend

OW111223 Tokyo KYODO in English 1213 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw July 11 KYODO--Foreign delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of Poland's United Workers' (Communist) Party opening here Tuesday will be limited to the 11 member nations of the communist bloc's Comecon group, an informed source here said Saturday.

The Soviet delegation is expected to be headed by party Politburo member Viktor Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow municipal party committee. Other Soviet members' names are not known yet.

The absence of top ranking Soviet leaders such as General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Mikhail Suslov suggests the Soviet desire not to openly recognize the democratization move in Poland.

PARTY OFFICIAL HOPES EX-MEMBERS WILL RETURN

LD101340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Interview with Jan Malinowski, delegate to the ninth party congress from Olsztyn Voivodship and first secretary of the PZPR city committee of Ostroda--live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Malinowski] I have not been first secretary long, only for 2 months since 27 April of this year. Previously I was second secretary on the same city committee in Ostroda. I have been living in the voivodship since the fifties, and the problems of the voivodship and Ostroda are well known to me through my professional occupation also.

[Interviewer] And what about internal party matters?

[Malinowski] Among internal party matters we discussed such problems as whether it would be worthwhile to resume talks with former party members, who left our ranks because of some dissatisfaction or for another reason. I do not disguise that there are several very valuable people among that group. This is why we inserted in the resolution the statement to the effect that the organizational commission has been committed to hold talks with people who have returned their cards and whom it regards as persons who ought to return. Such talks are now being held in the town. I believe that some of these people will come back, because society in Ostroda does not hide the fact that it is waiting for the decisions to be made during the ninth congress. I believe that they ought to be clear and not generalizing decisions. Then the return of people mentioned earlier as being good people will become a topical subject, and we will see them back in our ranks.

LOCAL MEETINGS DURING LAST PRECONGRESS DAYS NOTED

Lower Silesia Delegates Meet

LD102246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The delegates from lower Silesia have been busy during the last precongress days. On the initiative of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, for the first time in 5 years a meeting was held of all first secretaries of party voivodship committees in lower Silesia.

This is probably the initial step towards overcoming particularism in the voivodship, which will be advantageous for the harmonious development of the entire region. This should also be seen as an element of a precongress campaign characterized by looking at a number of problems from the point of view of the benefit of the whole country and not a specific milieu.

Slupsk Voivodship Plenum

LD102226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] The preparations of the voivodship echelon before the ninth extraordinary party congress was the theme of the plenum of the Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee. Mieczyslaw Wojcik, first secretary of the voivodship committee, chaired the session and stated that the voivodship precongress commission passed over 1,600 proposals and propositions to the Central Commission: these were (?selected) in the course of the PZPR report-back and election campaign in the voivodship. On the basis of these proposals, as well as on numerous voices from the discussion in the course of meetings with (?delegates) to the congress, the stance of the voivodship committee regarding the draft changes in the PZPR statute and the program assumptions was defined.

The stance of the voivodship echelon was also presented concerning problems in the ideological-educational and propaganda activity of the party (?contained) in the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress. During the discussion at the plenum the necessity was accentuated of determining the competence and duties of the Central Committee, of the Politburo, the Secretariat and the first secretary of the Central Committee. It was stated that the Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee pronounces its decided opposition to proposals transgressing the ideological-political framework of the PZPR, regarding--for instance--changes in (?the name) of the party and dispensing with the principle of its leading role or with democratic centralism.

The Slupsk congress delegates worked out the sociopolitical and economic program which they will introduce at the congress forum in the name of the 35,000 party members and of society in the whole voivodship.

Bielsko-Biala Voivodship

LD102242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] A meeting of voivodship delegates took place with the Bielsko-Bialad Voivodship PZPR Committee. The delegates, among other things, worked out joint material which, in accordance with the resolution of the voivodship party conference, they will present during the plenary discussion at the Ninth PZPR Congress. The delegates upheld in an open ballot having voivodship delegates put forward more than one candidate for the first secretary of the Central Committee, and also set up a state tribunal for fighting crimes which present a threat to the safety and the economy of the state.

Call for Calm

LD111428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] On the eve of the ninth extraordinary party congress the urban echelon of the PZPR Bielsko-Biala has issued an appeal to all people for the creation of a climate of dignity, order, and peace for the duration of the congress. It will promote an efficient debate at the congress and will assist in the elaboration of ways leading out of the sociopolitical crisis in the country.

Szczecin Port Plenum

LD102142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] The PZPR works committee plenum at the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex held a session today and after assessing the talks with the government commission on the dockers' charter and the sociopolitical situation at the port complex the plenum announced, among other things, that the creation of any hotbeds of tension on the eve of the ninth party congress, in view of the country's already tense socioeconomic situation could have incalculable consequences. Any disturbance of the calm atmosphere, which is so necessary at the present time, will be viewed as an attempt to undermine efforts to map out a program to resolve the present sociopolitical and economic crisis.

Need To Overcome Crisis

LD102028 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia: The second session of the PZPR works conference has been held in the Paris commune shipyard with Tadeusz Fiszbach taking part. The aim of the conference is to determine the stance of the shipyard party organization at the conference. A motion which was passed stressed the necessity of promptly working out a specific program for getting out of the crisis situation, as well as the need for more decisive action.

BARCIKOWSKI ADDRESSES SHIPYARD CONGRESS DELEGATES

AU091354 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the Szczecin meeting with congress delegates from the Warski Shipyards--date not given]

[Text] Speaking twice during the meeting, K. Barcikowski said:

How will the squaring of accounts be done? The statement made by Wladyslaw Pilatowski, deputy chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, is proof that the squaring of accounts is and will be underway. In keeping with what he said, the cases relayed to the Prosecutor's Office will be tried in courts. As for the general squaring of accounts, the congress delegates will receive the results of the work done by the so-called Grabski commission.

Do we have an election program for the congress? The congress delegates will receive three very important documents devoted to economic problems. The first document is a report on the state of the economy, which records the present state of the economy and the growth of crisis problems in the past decade. They will also receive the assumptions of the economic reform and the government program for stabilizing the national economy. The two last documents include a program for overcoming our economic difficulties.

How will the party fulfill its leading role? The fulfillment of the principle of the party's leading role in the state is related to the party's programmatic activities, to mapping out development programs and for solving our difficulties--programs that are to provide basic information about the lines of our party's and state's activities. The party should implement that program after it has been generally accepted by its members active at various levels of management, in various socioeconomic and political organizations, ruling bodies, self-government groups and administrative units.

What guarantees do we have in mind to prevent any repetition of a crisis situation? So far as I can remember, there has never been a period during which the party statutes would be discussed so profoundly and remodeled by such large teams of people as now.

Statutory changes are to safeguard internal party democracy as well as the party's effectiveness in action. That democracy and those statutory safeguards are to me an important guarantee for the party measures to prevent possible distortions and abuses. Of course, we should also be aware of self-government activities--the nationwide development of democracy.

How do I view Polish socialism? First of all I do not use the term "Polish socialism" or "other socialism." I think that socialism is a universal term, and if it is built in Poland then it is Polish socialism. We do not at all need to counterpose our socialism against anyone, but what we need is to act wisely in favor of the socialism that would suit our citizens and that would be an achievement of our party. Speaking of that issue, K. Barcikowski also pointed to certain differences between Poland and other socialist countries and to the need to acquire the best possible practical knowledge that is our own, but not forgetting to use the achievements of the other socialist countries.

Speaking of the precongress preparations, he said that for the first time almost 90 percent of the delegates will be present at the congress. A new generation of activists--young activists--is entering the party's life. The dominating group among the congress delegates is the age group of 30 to 45 years, which is the most creative and potent age group. This change is promising.

K. Barcikowski discussed at length the issue of strengthening the various levels of economic management and of enhancing the authority of managers.

Speaking of our economic difficulties and shortages, he said that May production had slumped 18 percent compared with May 1980 and that the slump in farm produce purchases had been the same. There is only more money.

Replying to a question on the RZECZYWISTOC [REALITY] weekly, he said, among other things, that he did not know who had decided to establish that weekly, which represents a certain community holding views different from his own. But there are many publications that profess views different from his own, he said. No one in Poland can demand that only those publications should appear that suit certain people.

In his speech K. Barcikowski also discussed the issue of the desecration of Soviet graves. He said that the issue is of special concern to our authorities. It is a most disturbing issue. The perpetrators so far caught are in most cases youngsters. In conclusion, K. Barcikowski said that we must seriously tackle economic problems. We are sunk in politics, he said, and have wasted much time politicking, while plunging deeper and deeper into an economic crisis. We must return to economic issues with wisdom. General Jaruzelski will not be able to produce the coal we need and to build the houses we need. Let us not wait for a premier who can do things with a magic wand. Only all the people together can achieve miracles.

WARSAW REPORTS KATOWICE LETTER TO PZPR CONGRESS

LD102236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] The conference of the communists' forum took place in Katowice, hosted by the Program Council of the Katowice Party Forum attached to the voivodship committee of the PZPR. The conference was attended by representatives of the Szczecin communists' movement, the Katowice Party Forum attached to the voivodship committee of the PZPR, the Warszawa-80 Club, the Poznan Communists' Forum, the Kalisz Party Forum and the Political Thought Club in Krosno. Also attending were party activists from numerous centers and large industrial enterprises in the country, including representatives from Wroclaw, [word indistinct] Rzeszow, Warsaw, Szczecin, Kolobrzeg, Kielce, Gdansk, Gdynia, Koszalin, Ursus, (?Olesno), and the Katowice Voivodship.

It follows from the communique published after the conference that the discussion during the session concerned the present situation in the party on the eve of the ninth extraordinary congress. Pointing to the threat to the Marxist-Leninist character of the party which derives from the rightwing opportunist forces, the communique says that the experience of party activities has also been exchanged. A statement of the participants at the conference has been adopted in the form of an open letter to be addressed to the delegates of the ninth congress.

More on 10 July Meeting

LD111612 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Jul (PAP)--A conference of the forum of communists hosted by the Programmatic Council of the Katowice Party Forum by the PUWP voivodship committee was held yesterday. The conferees unanimously agreed during the session to back the demand of the Katowice Party Forum addressed to the 9th congress to "explain the backstage of the press and political witch-hunt unleashed against the documents and activists of that forum." The conferees also adopted a statement in the form of an open letter to be sent to the delegates for the PUWP Congress.

Taking part in the debate were representatives of the PUWP Szczecin communist movement, "Warsaw 80" Club, the Poznan Communist Forum, Kalisz Party Forum, the Club of Political Thought in Krosno, and party activists of Wroclaw, Cieszyn, Rzeszow, Warsaw, Szczecin, Kolobrzeg, Kielce, Gdansk, Gdynia, Koszalin, Ursus, Olesno, and Katowice Voivodship.

LUBLIN COMMUNIST CONSULTATIVE GROUP FORMED

LD111148 Warsaw PAP in English 0844 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--"Consultative group of Lublin communists" has been created in the east Poland town of Lublin. The group consists of former activists from the youth movement, long-time members of PUWP and activists of many various professional circles. The main objective of its PUWP statute [sentence as received]. Basic activity is to help the party organizations and authorities to fight effectively any manifestations of antisocialist activity. [sentence as received] The group will also observe that the resolutions of the Central Committee and voivodship committees of PUWP are implemented in compliance with the Marxist-Leninist character of the party.

More on Lublin Communists

LD101954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] A consultative group of the Lublin communists has been set up in Lublin. The group is composed of former activists of the youth movement, members of the party for many years and members of youth aktivs from various vocational walks of life. The goal of the group, based on the statute of the PZPR, is to give effective help to party organizations and echelons in combatting antisocialist activities.

DISCUSSION CENTERS, EXTRAPARTY IDEOLOGY SCORED

LD101648 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today blamed the emergence of informal discussion centers in Poland (e.g. the Kuznica Club in Krakow, the Katowice Forum and horizontal structures in Torun) on the limitation and sometimes even the decline in ideological and political life in the PUWP organizations and authorities.

This in turn came as a result of solving disputes and settling ideological issues among PUWP members in an arbitrary manner.

However, the paper said "under the new conditions the party cannot be composed of clubs, horizontal structures and discussion forums. Unless it wants to become a social-democratic party, it must regain its ideological and organizational unity, and new statutory provisions and social conditions guarantee that the regress will not recur".

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI opined that there is no room for the existing clubs, horizontal structures and forums in the binding structure and therefore they cannot be tolerated in a Marxist-Leninist party. After all, the discussion centres mentioned above emerged in exceptional circumstances and conditions. It seems that in a way each of them contributed to removing weaknesses, distortions and evil from the party's life. But now the exceptional situation gradually comes back to normal, there are increasingly less reasons for conducting ideological activity outside the party's organizational structures.

JOZEF KLASA ZYCIE WARSZAWY INTERVIEW CITED

LD112120 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Jul (PAP)--Jozef Klasa, congress delegate for Krakow, told ZYCIE WARSZAWY today he resigned from the post of manager of the PUWP CC Press, Radio and TV Department because of the "totally negative appraisal of the press, radio and TV voiced in the debate at the 11th plenum. Although I share the critical views, I cannot agree with the statement, propounded by Comrades Grabski, Prokopiak, Kusiak, Sawczuk and others that the mass media have exerted a predominately negative influence in the process of post-August renewal," Klasa said. "This is a view both untrue and very unfair to the community of journalists, most of whom have taken the side of socialist renewal."

"I realize that in the conditions of special feverishness and emotionality, many mistakes have been committed in the press, radio and TV. But the press has all this time been serving to relieve social tensions."

"I believe that the main causes of the crisis have already been exposed," Klasa went on to say. "I would just like to add that too little has been said about certain repetitive deformations in the functioning of top party bodies. I would include among them the lack of a reasonable personnel selection system based on criteria of ideological commitment and professional skill. Instead, the mechanisms in operation here were the clique and submissiveness, that is typically opportunist ones. Secondly, action was based on mere appearances of collegial decision-making. In actual fact, autocratic decisions made at all levels were concealed behind a screen of collegiality."

"Thirdly, international relations among the leaders lacked in sincerity and openness. This was made possible by the fact that the Leninist principles of criticism and self-criticism were ignored and there was no social control. Life at different levels of authority was nearly fully secret. As a result, collegial bodies were played off against one another."

"The congress must work a beginning of a process of truly radical changes in the functioning of the party and its exercising of the leading role, and in the functioning of the state and its institutions. The party must make partnership-based contact with all social forces, and this requires broad understanding and going beyond the closed party circles. Otherwise, we shall sink deeper and deeper in the crisis," Klasa said, adding:

"I believe the congress will work out better and more advanced ways of community communication via the press, radio and TV, and of more efficacious discharge by the party of its leading role in the mass media."

POLITYKA PUBLISHES 'LETTER' TO CONGRESS DELEGATES

LD102228 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--The POLITYKA weekly of July 11 published on its first column "a letter to the delegates for the congress", in which, having reviewed the situation in Poland accompanying the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP, it stated inter alia: "You are, delegates, the part of the party which turned out to be alive and vigorous. You were chosen from the very heart of the party and it is your decision that the election of credible leaders depends on.

"This is the key point of the whole matter. It depends on you whether the party would stand again on its feet and have healthy institutions, proper cadres and programme, as well as down-to-earth leaders enjoying prestige. You are responsible for the beginning.

"The state will rebuild itself and get stronger in its internal and external function on condition that the party rises from the crisis. Such is the sequence and logic whether one likes it or not.

"The state must extricate itself from the doldrums to be able to get the country out of the crisis and fulfill its obligations towards its citizens and trade unions today in case of those possible, and tomorrow with partners' permission, as regards those now impossible.

"The party must be at home with itself before being able to lead the society. It means that its members should first agree as to the principles of the internal democracy, relations between authorities and party members and the role of the apparatus as well.

"The party can be neither 'post-Stalinist' nor social-democratic. For many years it worked inconsistently to free itself from Stalinism and was left with a legacy of structural and ideological burdens, with a pseudo-unerring and detached manner of leaders, a legacy which turned out so detrimental. It must not embark on the road of social-democratism, or it will lose its leading role, and the country will lose credibility in the world. Neither must it be reduced to a sum of pressure groups or to loosed federal organizations.

"New (?structures) and arrangements have developed too clearly in the life of post-August Poland. They have left too strong a stamp on the social awareness. A withdrawal would be total, unimaginable, national disaster....

"As members of the ruling party you are responsible before the country and this is a great, rushing river of responsibility. Here is (?that) our internal and external obligations come into view, our obligations to our allies, who we cannot be surprised see our situation in dramatic terms, the situation of a country located in a key part of Europe. Our country's credibility to allies is most closely linked to our party's credibility to the society, its faithfulness to socialism, that we can and want to build in a better form. [passage as received]

"Finally, there are masses of people in the world who do not necessarily believe in socialism, simply democrats, who follow our ups and downs and wish us success not because they fear for their peace, but because they genuinely wish us well. We are a little responsible before them, too.

"This is an extraordinary congress, just as our situation is e traordinary, just as our responsibility is unusual. You are heroes of an impromptu play which is just beginning. May its ending be a success to all of us."

WARSAW WEEKLY VIEWS IMPORTANCE OF PZPR CONGRESS

LD122100 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 81

[PAP headline indistinct]

[Text] Warsaw,12 Jul (PAP)--In an editorial article under this headline, the Warsaw weekly PRAWO I ZYCIE writes that the Polish people are waiting with impatience and hope for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, which begins on 14 July. In its reflections on what should be (?expected) from the congress, the (?editorial board) of the magazine writes that in the first place it is expected that the congress will give a convincing evaluation of the reasons for the crisis, and will also work out guarantees against future distortions; in the second place, that it will unambiguously confirm the party's resolve to continue the socialist renewal, and will define what this renewal should consist of in the political, social and economic fields; in the third place, by defining the ideological, political and moral qualities of a communist, it will recover the dignity of the title party member. And finally, it will lead to a consolidation of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, that it will create a new situation in the political and social balance of forces: a situation in which the PZPR will really begin to fulfill its leading role in society and in the state.

The condition for the fulfillment of that role is that support should be given to the party by the people, and in particular by the working class, both in the field of the program and in its implementation. This means that the party and its members must give an example of initiative and consistent action in implementing democratic relations in the state, the rules of social justice, moral principles and also in their professional activity.

The correct meaning to this last point must be restored as quickly as possible, writes PRAWO I ZYCIE. It is worrying that the past years, and also the past months, have led to a devaluation of the concept of honest labor by a certain part of society. Manifestations of this fact are varied, from a belief in a miracle of economic reform, explaining all shortages by supply difficulties, to working in a slipshod way, waiting for government decisions.

It is precisely this--whether the economy is becoming in the eyes of the majority of the population the basic index of the effectiveness of the actions of all political and social forces, first and foremost the PZPR. This does not mean the congress of necessity should turn into an economic conference. For the party cannot be a substitute for state power and the organs of economic management. What matters is that, as a result of the voice of the highest party level, the conviction should begin to be formed throughout the party and people that solutions to our problems are only possible by sharply increasing social labor productivity, rational organization, and initiative and honesty. We believe the congress will be an important stage on this difficult road, PRAWO I ZYCIE writes in conclusion.

CONFLICT ENDED IN BYDGOSZCZ: DIRECTOR RESIGNS

LD101330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] According to our correspondent, the conflict at the Bydgoszcz Voivodship transportation enterprise has ended. The director of the enterprise, Andrzej Antosiak, has submitted his resignation from his post. It has been accepted by the voivodship association of municipal economy and housing enterprises. Explaining his decision, Director Antosiak stated that in view of the approaching congress he cannot, as a PZPR member, bear even partial responsibility for the violation of peace, authority, and order in the country at this moment.

GLOS PRACY PUBLISHES DRAFT TRADE UNION LAW

AU100501 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 30 Jun 81 pp 4, 5

["Draft Law on Trade Unions"]

[Text] Chapter I--Foundations of Trade Unions' Activities and Aims

Article 1.

Trade unions are self-governing bodies and have the right to freely devise their internal structures, to work out trade union statutes and regulations, to elect their representatives, to appoint ruling bodies and to draw up their action programs. They also can conclude accords on cooperation.

Article 2.

1. Trade unions are independent and not subject to supervision or control by the administrative organs, which are obliged to refrain from all kinds of interference that would restrict or upset the trade union activities complying with the laws.

2. All trade unions have equal rights. The state bodies are obliged to treat all trade unions on an equal footing.

Article 3.

A trade union acts in accordance with the statutes that should comply with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and with other laws. In particular, trade unions obey the principle of the social ownership of production means, which is the foundation of the socialist system of the state, and the principle of the role of the PZPR as society's leading political force in socialist construction--a role fulfilled within the framework of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 4.

Trade union membership is voluntary. No one may suffer because of belonging or not belonging to a trade union.

Article 5.

Trade unions represent their members before enterprise managements, the bodies of power, state and economic administrative bodies, political and social organizations and foreign trade union organizations, and cooperate with the aforementioned bodies and organizations.

Article 6.

Trade unions safeguard the rights and current and long-term interests of the working people with regard to working, wage, living, social and cultural conditions.

Helping to increase and equitably divide the national income, trade unions may--in particular--initiate and support efforts to improve the methods of running and managing the national economy, of rationally employing workers and of correctly using their qualifications and talents.

Article 7.

Trade unions conduct educational activities to foster vocational and professional ethics, the conscientious and honest fulfillment of work duties and the observance of people-to-people relations.

Article 8.

Trade unions may join international trade union organizations in order to represent their members' trade and social interests, and to act in favor of strengthening the working people's international solidarity and of propagating progress and social justice.

Chapter II--Setting Up Trade Unions

Article 9.

The right to set up trade unions without previous permission is ensured.

Article 10.

Persons working within the framework of a work contract have the right to set up and join trade unions, regardless of the basis of such a contract or of their position.

Article 11.

1. In order to safeguard their professional rights and interests, individual farmers running their own farms, and the persons close to them who help to run these farms, have the right to set up and join the private farmers' trade unions on the strength of this law.

2. Other persons who make their living out of personal work and who do not permanently employ employees for earning purposes also have the right to set up and join trade unions.

Article 12.

All kinds of retirement or temporary unemployment caused by searching for work do not deprive one of the right to belong to a trade union.

Article 13.

1. Soldiers in active service, persons doing substitute military service, and functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and the prison service are not entitled to set up and join trade unions or to actively participate in the trade unions of which they were members at the time of their call-up.

2. The Council of Ministers will define by decree the trade union that will exclusively represent the rights and interests of the employees of military units and the enterprises run by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and that are of crucial importance for the country's defense and for safeguarding public order.

Article 14.

Persons intending to set up a trade union elect a founding committee and adopt statutes. The number of founders on the day on which statutes are submitted for registration must not be lower than 100.

Article 15.

1. The statutes of a trade union define the name and site and the territorial and thematic extent of the trade union's activity and aims, the principles of acquiring and relinquishing membership, the members' rights and duties, the trade union's organizational structure and ruling bodies, the election and recall procedure applying to such bodies, the sources of the trade union's finances, the principles by which the statutes are adopted and changed, and the manner in which the trade union is dissolved.

2. All members of a trade union have an active and passive election right. The statutes may stipulate that the functions in trade union ruling bodies must be separated from the functions in the bodies of state and economic administration or in the ruling bodies of political and social organizations. In such a case the statutes leave it to the candidate for or member of the trade union ruling body to choose one of those functions.

3. Elections to the trade union ruling bodies are by secret ballot.

Article 16.

1. A trade union becomes a legal entity the moment it has been registered. The Warsaw Voivodship Court is the registration body.

2. The court will refuse registration if the statutes show that the organization is not a trade union within the terms of this law, or if the statutes are incompatible with the rules of this law.

3. The appropriate body of a trade union has the duty to immediately inform the court about changes in the statutes. With regard to recording statutory changes in the registration act, Rule 2 of the article is applied as appropriate. Before a decision is made to register statutory changes, the actual statutes are in force, except for the trade union's enactments and decisions that were made on the strength of the new statutes at the moment it was adopted, provided such enactments and decisions are not in conflict with the law.

4. The court will eliminate a trade union from the register:

A) When a statutory decision to dissolve the trade union is made; or if the number of trade union members is below 100 for more than 3 months.

The appropriate body of a trade union has the duty to immediately inform the court about the aforementioned circumstances.

5. In examining the issues mentioned in rules 1 and 4 the appropriate regulations of the civil code on nontrial procedures are applied. The issues should be examined at once, but no later than a month within the application. The voivodship court's decision can be appealed in the Supreme Court.

6. The Council of Ministers will define by decree the detailed principles and procedures of registration.

Article 17.

1. Trade unions have the right to set up intertrade union associations and organizations. The rules of this law are appropriately applied to such associations and organizations.

2. Trade unions and intertrade union associations and organizations may appoint trade union consultative commissions in order to jointly implement rights and duties to the extent stipulated in an accord.

Chapter III--The Rights and Duties of Trade Unions

Article 18.

1. Trade unions have the right to evaluate the assumptions or drafts of legal acts as well as decisions concerning the rights and interests of the working people and their families. That applies in particular to:

A) Draft socioeconomic plans;

B) The employees' rights and duties resulting from work contracts or connected with them;

C) Remuneration and other benefits for employees and their families;

D) Social assurance and social affairs;

E) The safety and hygiene of work, health protection and recreation;

F) Meeting the working people's housing needs;

G) Prices, costs of living and market supplies;

H) The protection of the natural environment; and

I) Education and culture.

2. With regard to the issues that are mentioned in Rule 2 and that are of crucial importance for the working people and their families, the trade unions are assured participation in the preparatory work concerning draft legal acts or decisions.

3. A trade union's opinion can be presented in writing or during the direct consultations between representatives of the trade union and the appropriate body of government or administration.

A trade union's opinion in writing should be submitted to the appropriate body of government or administration within a month. Failure to do that within a month is regarded as nonsubmission of reservations.

4. Should positions diverge, the body of government or administration is obliged to take a stand on the demands or opinions of a trade union and inform the union in writing about its stand and the reasons for it.

5. With regard to the issues mentioned in Rule 1, a trade union has the right to publicly express its opinion, mass media included for this purpose. Trade unions are assured the right to present their opinions at the session of the appropriate committee of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic or of the appropriate People's Council.

Article 19.

1. Trade unions have the right to submit proposals on issuing or changing legal acts concerning the rights and interests of the working people and their families. Article 18, Rule 5 is applied appropriately.

2. The body of administration to which a proposal is made is obliged within a month to inform the trade union in question about its position on that proposal, and the reasons for it should the position be negative.

Article 20.

1. Trade unions are entitled to conclude collective work contracts. Such contracts cover all employees, no matter what their trade union affiliation is.

2. In the sectors of work not covered by collective contracts the settlement of working conditions and wages follows after agreement with trade unions.

Article 21.

1. Trade unions exert social control over the working and living conditions of employees and their families and over the observance of employees' rights.

2. If a trade union thinks that, with regard to the issues mentioned in Rule 1, the conduct of the body of state or economic administration is inconsistent with the law or violates the principles of social justice, it can appeal to the appropriate body and demand that the irregularity in question be eliminated. The appropriate body is obliged to respond within 2 weeks.

Article 22.

Trade unions are entitled to appraise the working, wage and living conditions of employees. For that reason trade unions will receive full information about the social and economic situation throughout the country, a voivodship or an enterprise, but will be obliged to observe state and official secrecy in this regard.

Article 23.

Trade unions are entitled to do their own research work in the fields covered by the statutory activities, especially statistical research and analysis of the price and wage indexes and other elements of the living and working conditions of employees and their families.

Article 24.

Trade unions cooperate with labor inspectors and other bodies responsible for protecting employees' health and for observing the labor laws, especially the regulations and principles of work safety and hygiene.

Article 25.

Trade unions are entitled to conduct their own publishing activities, to use mass media for the purposes of trade union work and to carry out educational and cultural activities.

Article 26.

1. Bodies of state and economic administration are obliged to create conditions to enable trade unions to implement their prerogatives, in particular to supply them with information on the issues covered by trade union activities and to make available to them the documents concerning the problems of employees.

2. Trade union members are assured personal safety when discharging their trade union duties in accordance with legal rules and statutory regulations.

3. An enterprise is obliged to grant to the employee who has been appointed to fulfill trade union functions a period of unpaid leave in keeping with the principle and procedures laid down by the labor code.

4. A manager of an enterprise is obliged to release an employee from work in keeping with the principles and procedures laid down by the labor code for the period of paid leave that is necessary to complete an emergency trade union function, if this function cannot be completed within workfree time.

Chapter IV--Trade Union Organization in an Enterprise

Article 27.

1. Enterprise trade union organizations discharging their duties through their statutory bodies implement the tasks of trade unions in work enterprises.

2. The functions of enterprise trade union organizations include in particular:

A) Taking a stand on all individual problems of employees as defined by the rules of the labor laws.

B) Taking a stand toward the manager of a work enterprise and toward the workers self-government body with regard to the issues concerning the rights and interests of the workforce, in particular concerning drawing up the work regulations, the bonus and premium regulations, the work schedules, the vacation schedules and the social, living and cultural needs of the workforce.

C) Cooperation with the enterprise manager on issues concerning raising employees' professional skills, developing the rationalization and innovation movement, and fostering the principle of social relationships in the enterprise.

D) Controlling the observance of the regulations of the labor laws, especially the regulations involving the principles of work safety and hygiene, and cooperating to this end with labor inspectors.

3. The fulfillment of the prerogatives of the trade union organizations in enterprises is accomplished in keeping with the procedures and principles defined by the labor code, by this law and by other legal regulations.

Alternative I.

4. The trade union statutes providing for establishing interfactory trade union organizations can determine the extent of the powers of these organizations as reserved in the legal regulations concerning enterprise trade union organizations.

Alternative II. (without Rule 4)

Article 28.

1. In an enterprise in which a number of trade union organizations operate, each one of them fulfills the functions mentioned in Article 27, Rule 2, subrule A--with regard to their members.

2. If a number of trade union organizations operate in an enterprise, they can agree that the functions mentioned in Article 27 will be discharged to an agreed extent by a joint trade union representation (the Factory Consultative Commission).

3. An employee who does not belong to an organization for the purpose of defending his employee rights can indicate a trade union organization in his enterprise [for this purpose] if it agrees that he do so.

Article 29.

An enterprise and its trade union organization and the Factory Consultative Commission in the enterprise in which several trade union organizations operate, can conclude accords (factory social contracts) with particular regard to:

A) The principles of sharing the wage fund, premiums and bonuses, the social fund, the housing fund and of the production conditions for increasing these funds;

B) The program to improve working conditions; and

C) Other issues of the workforce's living conditions and of implementing the tasks of the enterprise in question.

Article 30.

1. The enterprise manager is obliged to provide for enterprise trade union organizations the premises and to ensure for them the technical resources so that they can function properly.

Alternative I.

2. On the motion of the enterprise trade union organization the enterprise manager is obliged to grant unpaid leave to the employee elected to discharge a function in the enterprise trade union organization. Such an employee is entitled to benefits resulting from his work contract, except for the wages due to him on the strength of his work contract.

Alternative II.

2. On the motion adopted by the enterprise trade union organization, the enterprise manager is obliged to release from work the employee (employees) elected to discharge functions in the executive body of that organization for the period of the functions. If the resolution is adopted that the employee should be released from his work, but should be paid in keeping with the provisions of his work contract, then such a resolution may apply to one employee if the trade union organization totals 250 to 500 members, two employees if it totals 501 to 1,000 members and three employees if it totals 1,001 to 3,000 members. If the number of members is over 3,000, one employee may be released for trade union duties per every additional 2,000 members.

Employees released for trade union duties without the right to paid leave are entitled to other benefits from their enterprise in keeping with the work contracts.

Chapter V--Collective Disputes, the Right to Strike

Article 31.

In case of a collective dispute, the appropriate trade union and administrative bodies are obliged to immediately engage in negotiations to solve such a dispute.

Article 32.

1. If negotiations fail to solve the dispute, each side may ask for conciliation proceedings, which are conducted by a special commission composed of six members appointed in equal proportion by each side.

2. Solving the dispute in that way should occur within 7 days if the dispute involves one enterprise (enterprise dispute) and within 10 days if the dispute exceeds the affairs of a single enterprise (dispute extending beyond the enterprise).

3. Solving the dispute is done by agreement, which is binding on the sides. Should there be no agreement, the commission issues the minutes detailing the differences and the positions of the sides.

Article 33.

1. If the dispute extending beyond the enterprise is not solved in keeping with Articles 31 and 32, the sides can refer it to the social arbitration college within the Supreme Court. If the enterprise dispute is not solved, it may be referred to the social arbitration college within the regional courts of labor and social insurance.

2. The college is composed of the chairman appointed from among the judges of the given court by the court president and of three members appointed in an equal number by each side. The sides should seek to appoint persons who are not directly interested in settling the dispute.

3. The president of the court sets at once the date for the college's sitting and informs the sides or their representatives of this.

4. If settling the dispute calls for specialized knowledge, the college may ask for expert opinions.

5. The verdict of the college is made by a majority of votes. If none of the sides makes any relevant reservations before the dispute is submitted to the college for settlement, the college's verdict is binding on the sides.

6. The Council of State will define the procedural rules of the social arbitration college.

Article 34.

1. Trade Unions are entitled to organize strikes in keeping with the principles defined in this chapter.

2. Trade unions may also pursue other forms of protest that do not violate the legal order and the principles of social coexistence.

Article 35.

1. A strike involves the collective refrainment from work in order to protect employees' collective interests and the trade union rights and freedoms.

2. A strike is the ultimate measure and may not be proclaimed without previously exhausting all the possibilities for settling the dispute in keeping with the principles defined in Articles 31 and 32. This does not apply to proclaiming a strike in connection with the failure to implement the verdict of the college, binding on the sides as described in Article 33.

3. When making the decision to proclaim a strike, the trade union body considers how far the demands justify the losses caused by the strike.

Article 36.

Alternative 1.

1. The enterprise trade union body proclaims the strike after the decision to do so has been accepted by two-thirds of the workforce in a secret ballot and has been approved by a superior trade union body.

A strike extending beyond an enterprise is proclaimed by the trade union body specified in the statutes. Participation in a strike is voluntary. No one can be forced to participate or to refuse to participate in a strike.

Alternative II.

1. The enterprise trade union body proclaims a strike after the decision to do so has been accepted by a majority of the workforce and after a superior trade union body has agreed. A strike extending beyond an enterprise is proclaimed by a trade union body specified in the statutes. Participation in a strike is voluntary. No one can be forced to participate or to refuse to participate in a strike.

2. A strike is proclaimed at least 7 days before it actually begins, and the enterprise manager is informed accordingly.

3. If a dispute concerns the collective labor contract or other accord, the proclamation of a strike cannot follow before the deadline for the lapsing of the collective contract or for the agreed implementation of the contract's decisions is over.

Article 37.

Strike organizers are obliged, in cooperation with the enterprise manager, to ensure protection of property during a strike and the constant functioning of those installations whose stoppage may threaten life or limb or may cause irreparable losses.

Article 38.

If the conditions referred by Articles 32, 36 and 37 are fulfilled, a production enterprise must not ask the people who are not members of its workforce to continue the work.

Article 39.

A strike that does not meet the conditions specified in Article 35, Rule 2 and Article 36 can be held only if the trade union in question has been prevented from fulfilling such conditions, or if there has been a particularly glaring violation of the trade union rights and freedoms.

Article 40.

1. Employees of military units, of the factories run by the Ministry of National Defense, of the defense industry enterprises (shops and subshops), of the enterprises that supply the population with water, electric and thermal energy, gas and food, of the health service establishments that take care of the sick, of pharmacies, and of educational and upbringing establishments in which constant supervision of the charges is a must, have no right to strike.

Alternative I.

2. Employees of the state administration, banks, courts, prosecutor's offices, the organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the prison service; the fire service functionaries, and employees of the establishments directly involved in the country's defense, of railroad and highway transportation, of communications establishments and of radio and television stations, also have no right to strike.

Alternative II. Replace Rule 2 with rules 2 and 3 as follows:

2. Employees of the state administration, banks, courts, prosecutor's officers, the organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; the prison service; the fire service functionaries; and employees of the establishments directly involved in the country's defense, also have no right to strike.

3. In the Polish state railroads establishment, in other transportation establishments, in communications establishments and in radio and television stations the strike organizers are obliged to cooperate with the managements of these establishments in order to ensure the necessary services with regard to the state's defense and the population's basic needs.

Article 41.

The right to strike does not release production enterprises and their workforces from the duties resulting from the regulations on the universal duty to defend the Polish People's Republic.

Article 42.

A strike may be preceded by a warning strike, which should be restricted to the necessary minimum and should not last longer than 2 hours.

Article 43.

1. In the interest of the employees who have no right to strike or who do not want to avail themselves of the right to strike, the trade union in question may--on the motion of such employees--adopt a protest resolution, demand new negotiations on disputed questions and submit the dispute to a social arbitration college for settlement. The body of the state or economic administration that is a party to the dispute must not refuse to submit the dispute to a social arbitration college for settlement. Nor can it declare that it will not respect the college's verdict.

Alternative I.

2. A trade union can proclaim a solidarity strike on the motion and in the interest of the employees referred to in Rule 1, if the conciliation procedures (Articles 32 and 33) have been exhausted and if a majority of the solidarizing workforce has agreed to strike. A solidarity strike must not begin before the lapse of 7 days from its announcement and from the agreement of a superior trade union body.

Alternative II. Rule 2 should be replaced by Rules 2 and 3 as follows:

2. A substitute strike can be held by other groups of employees in the interests of the employees referred to in Rule 1.

The procedure of Article 36 are correspondingly applied to a substitute strike.

3. A trade union can proclaim a solidarity strike if conciliation procedures (Articles 31 and 32) have been exhausted and the regulations of Articles 36 and 39 have been taken into consideration.

Article 44.

Alternative I.

1. In exceptional situations that are justified by the national economy's critical state, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic may by resolution suspend strike actions for the necessary period.

Alternative II.

1. In exceptional situations that are justified by the national economy's critical state, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic may by resolution suspend strike actions for the necessary period--no longer than 2 months.

Another resolution may not be adopted before 1 year is over.

Alternative I.

2. In the period referred to in rule 1, the implementation of the regulations and decisions referred to in Article 18, Rule 1, subrules C, D, and G can be allowed only if the trade unions agree.

In that period, no action will be taken to restrict trade union rights and freedoms.

Alternative II. Without Rule 2.

Article 45.

1. A strike is forbidden as soon as mobilization is proclaimed or a state of war emergency or a state of war are announced.

2. A strike is forbidden in enterprises situated in the areas in which a state of natural disaster has been proclaimed--as soon as it is proclaimed.

Article 46.

Participation in the strike organized in keeping with the preceding articles does not constitute a violation of employee duties. The striking employees and the persons aiding them are assured personal safety during the strike action and after it, and are guaranteed the previous working and wage conditions. This applies also to participation in other forms of protest referred to in Article 34, Rule 2.

Article 47.

1. During a strike organized in keeping with the preceding articles, an employee continues to be entitled to social insurance benefits and to other benefits resulting from the work contract, except for the right to remuneration.

2. An enterprise pays to an employee who participates in a strike, organized in keeping with the preceding articles, a compensation for his lost wages in the form of 50 percent of the wages due to him for justified absence from work.

Alternative I.

3. The sides can, by agreement, fix a higher compensation, taking into account all the aspects of the circumstances connected with a strike, in particular the extent of satisfied demands and the fact that the backlog caused by the strike will be made good within the time specified in the agreement.

4. Trade unions and trade union confederations can set up a strike fund and make decisions on its use.

Alternative II. Replace Rules 3 and 4 with Rules 3 to 5 as follows:

3. A workforce is entitled to full remuneration for the period of a strike if it makes good the backlog caused by the strike.

4. In the agreement that ends a strike, the sides can provide for a higher compensation for the period of the strike than stipulated in Rule 2, taking into account all the aspects of the circumstances connected with the strike.

5. Trade unions and their confederations can set up a strike fund, which is inviolable.

Chapter VI--Regulations on Trade Unions of Private Farmers

Article 48.

Private farmers' trade unions have the following rights, in particular:

1) To give opinions on assumptions of legal enactments or on draft legal enactments and decisions concerning the rights and interests of private farmers and their families, especially with regard to the development of individual farms, individual farm property, land husbandry, the protection of farmlands, area development, the provision of building plots in rural areas, the development of the rural infrastructure and the protection of the natural environment;

2) To participate in the preparatory work to fix the prices for farm produce, farm production means and agricultural services as well as the norms and principles of classifying farm produce and the organization of procurement;

3) To give opinions on the conditions of farm cultivation contracts, of cooperation and sales with regard to farm products and of production services for agriculture; and

4) To exercise social control over the effectiveness of the administrative, banking, technical and commercial services for agriculture and of the functioning of health, social, cultural and educational establishments in the rural areas.

Article 49.

The appropriate body of state administration supplies as far as possible the premises for the private farmers' trade unions and makes it possible for them to buy technical resources to ensure their proper functioning.

Article 50.

1) The regulations that allow a trade union's participation in proceeding before state bodies are correspondingly applied in the case of the private farmers' trade unions.

2) A representative of the private farmers' trade union can act as plenipotentiary representative of a farmer with regard to the issues involved in running a farm.

Article 51.

Whenever this law speaks of enterprise disputes, they should be understood as the disputes affecting a single rural commune. But whenever it speaks of disputes extending beyond the area of an enterprise, they should be understood as disputes extending beyond the affairs of a single rural commune.

Article 52.

1) The private farmers' trade unions have the right to organize protest actions in order to defend the collective interests of farmers and the trade union rights and freedoms.

2) A protest action is the ultimate measure and cannot be proclaimed before the possibilities of settling the dispute in accordance with the principles defined by Articles 31 and 32 have been exhausted. This does not apply to proclaiming a protest action in connection with the failure to implement the verdict of the arbitration college as defined in Article 33--a verdict binding on the sides.

3. The activities conducted during the protest campaign must not endanger life or limb, cause destruction or constitute a crime.

4. During the protest campaign nothing must be done to stop the supplies of foodstuffs necessary to meet the population's current needs and the country's defense needs.

5. No one can be forced to participate in a protest action and suffer adverse legal consequences for participating in such an action organized by trade unions.

Article 53.

1. A protest action is proclaimed by a statutory body of a trade union by agreement of a superior trade union level.

2. A protest action is proclaimed at least 7 days before it begins and the appropriate body of state administration is informed accordingly, unless special circumstances make it necessary to abandon this deadline.

Article 54.

With regard to the issues not covered by this chapter, in the case of the private farmers' trade unions the regulations of Capters I to III are correspondingly applied, and with regard to solving collective disputes and to protest action also the regulations of Articles 31 to 33, 43 (Rule 1), 44 and 45 are applied.

Capter VII--Trade Union's Property

Article 55.

1. Should a number of trade unions adopt a resolution on merging into a single trade union, the property rights and duties are transferred to the new union as soon as it is registered.

2. Should a trade union adopt a resolution on dividing itself into a number of trade unions, the property rights and duties of the previous trade union are transferred to the new trade unions as soon as the last of the new trade unions is registered. The resolution on the division of the previous trade union should define the shares of the property rights and duties of the new trade unions.

Article 56.

1. Should a new trade union be established--after this law has come into force--by the separation from the previous trade union of the enterprise, branch, territorial or trade organizations, the property rights and duties of the previous trade union are transferred to the new trade union in the proportion fixed by the trade unions concerned.

2. If such proportions have not been fixed, the property rights and duties are transferred in the proportionate ratio between the number of the trade union members that have gone over to the new trade union and the number of the members of the previous trade union on the day of the new trade union's registration.

3. If within 6 months of the registration of the new trade union the number of the members of the previous trade union who went over to the new trade union has crucially changed, each trade union may ask for a new fixing of the proportions in which the property rights and duties were transferred to the new trade union.

4. In the event of a dispute, a regional court is empowered to examine it. The court proceedings observe the appropriate civil code regulations concerning the abolition of co-ownership of property.

Chapter VIII--Responsibility for Violating the Regulations of the Trade Union Law

Article 57.

He who, in connection with his position or function, violates the trade union rights resulting from this law and other legal enactments, will be punished by deprivation of freedom up to one year, by restricted freedom or by a fine of up to Z10,000.

Article 58.

Alternative I

He who runs a strike organized in defiance of the regulations of this law will be punished by deprivation of freedom up to one year, by restricted freedom or by a fine of up to Z10,000.

Alternative II

He who runs a strike organized in defiance of the regulations of this law will be fined up to Z10,000.

Chapter IX--Interim and Final Regulations

Article 59.

1. Whenever reference is made in this law to legal enactments without a closer definition of them, they should be understood as the enactments of this law.

2. Whenever reference is made in this law to economic administration bodies, they should be understood as including, correspondingly, the manager or the owner of an enterprise.

Article 60.

1. Employee asistance and loan funds are set up in the socialized production enterprise for all employees to use, regardless of their trade union affiliation. Trade unions supervise these funds.

2. The duties of production enterprises with regard to organizing those funds and the fund's skeleton statutes will be laid down by the minister of labor, wages and social affairs in agreement with trade unions. The minister of finances will define the principles in keeping with which fiscal guarantees are given to those funds.

Article 64.

The following laws lapse:

1) The decrees of 6 February 1945 on the establishment of plant councils (The Official Gazette, Issue 8, item 36, amendment of 1947, Issue 24, item 92).

2) The law of 1 July 1949 on trade unions (The Official Gazette, Issue 41, item 293, amendment of 1980, Issue 24 item 83).

3) The law of 6 May 1981 on the registration of inter-trade union organizations (The Official Gazette, Issue 11, item 52).

Article 62.

(The proposals that reflect the current state of the talks among trade unions).

Alternative I (of the NSZZ Solidarity and the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions).

1. The property rights and duties of the Federation of Trade Unions in Poland are transferred to the employee trade unions which exist on the day this law comes into force. This transfer is done in proportion to the number of members.

2. The liquidation commission appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers from among representatives of trade unions divides the property referred to in Rule 1 or fixes the principles and ways of using that property.

The commission's decisions are made by a majority of the votes calculated in proportion to the number of the members of the trade unions in question. There is no appeal against such decisions. The commission is assisted in its work by a representative of the liquidation commission of the defunct Central Trade Union Council, who has an advisory vote.

3. The property rights and duties of the trade unions that were members of the Federation of Trade Unions in Poland are transferred on the day on which this law comes into force to the trade unions that have been set up since 31 August 1980. This transfer is done in the proportions corresponding to the ratio between the number of the members who went over from the previous trade unions to the present trade unions and the number of the members who have stayed in the previous trade unions. The legal number of members is the one registered on the day on which this law comes into force.

4. Trade unions--or in case of a dispute, trade unions and the Warsaw Voivodship Court--divide by agreement the property referred to in Rule 3 or fix the principles and ways of using that property. The court proceedings observe, correspondingly, the civil code regulations concerning the abolition of co-ownership of property.

5. When fixing the ways in which the vacation homes, sanatoriums and other social facilities existing on the day in which this law comes into force are used, it is necessary to make all these facilities available to employees regardless of their trade union affiliation.

Alternative II (of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions)

A) The property issues of the Federation of Trade Unions should be settled through agreement among trade unions, but the property of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions cannot be subjected to a legal settlement because it is the property of the active corporate body [dzialajacych osob prawnych].

B) Agreement is given to the Rule 5 proposed in Alternative I.

Article 63.

1. The acts of registration of trade unions completed by the Warsaw Voivodship Court and by the Central Trade Union Council before this law comes into force, retain the legal validity as envisaged by this law in connection with the registration of trade unions.

2. The court proceedings begun with a view to registering a trade union before the law comes into force continue in keeping with the regulations of this law.

Article 64.

Should trade union statutes be in conflict with the enactments of this law, the corresponding regulations of this law prevail.

Article 65.

1. The register of the trade unions maintained by the Central Trade Union Council is transferred to the Warsaw Voivodship Court.

2. The voivodship court will include in the court register a trade union recorded in the register referred to in Rule 1 as soon as the first change in the statutes is recorded in the register in keeping with the procedure and principles of Article 16 Rule 3.

Article 66.

The following changes are made in the labor code of 26 June 1974 (The Official Gazette, Issue 24, item 141, amended in 1975, Issue 16, item 91 and in 1981, Issue 6, item 23):

1) The code's terms, including their number and case:

A) "The plant council" and "the trade union delegate" are correspondingly replaced by the terms "the enterprise trade union body";

B) "The immediately superior level" is correspondingly replaced by the terms "the superior (higher level) statutory trade union body above the enterprise trade union body";

C) The phrase "on agreement with the Central Trade Union Council" is expunged; and

D) The phrase "on agreement with the main administrations of the appropriate trade unions" is expunged.

2) Article 10 reads as follows:

"Representing their members, trade unions cooperate with the production enterprise manager, employees' self-government groups and the bodies of state and economic administrations in developing the correct labor relations that are consistent with the principles of legality and social justice and take action to protect the employees' rights and interests on the principles defined by the trade union law, this code and other legal enactments."

3) Article 24 reads as follows:

"Article 24, paragraph 1. In the production enterprise in which no trade union organization is active, the powers of the enterprise trade union body devolve correspondingly on the employees' commission and on the trusted elder if the enterprise in question employs fewer than 20 employees.

"Paragraph 2. The enterprise workforce elected the employees' commission of the trusted elder for 2 years.

"Paragraph 3. The minister of labor, wages and social affairs will by decree determine the procedures by which the employees' commission and the trusted elder are elected and will stipulate the principles of their activities.

"Paragraph 4. The production enterprise manager is relieved of the duty--provided for by the labor law regulations--to cooperate with the enterprises trade union body:

"1) If an employee who does not belong to a trade union has not indicated an enterprise trade union body that would safeguard his individual employee rights or if the body indicated by him refuses to act on his behalf;

"2) If in the enterprise referred to in paragraph 1 the workforce refuses to elect the employees' commission or the trusted elder."

3) The following Article 233A is added after Article 233:

"Article 233A, paragraph 1. If the social labor inspector ascertains a glaring violation by a production enterprise of the regulations or principles of work safety so that an employee's life and limb are directly threatened and if the enterprise manager refuses to follow the inspector's instructions, the enterprise trade union body may oppose the further employment of the employee in question, informing the labor inspector accordingly. [quotation marks as published]

"Paragraph 2. In the case referred to in paragraph 1, the employee in question may stop doing his job, without losing the right to remuneration, until the labor inspector's instructions are carried out or until the enterprise gives him another job of equal kind and remuneration. The employee in question may avail himself of that privilege also in the case when there is no opposition from the enterprise trade union body [to the dangerous job he does]."

5) [as published] Article 240 reads as follows:

"Article 240, paragraph 1. The collective labor contract is concluded:

"1) On behalf of production enterprises: by the minister (the head of the central office), the central cooperative organization or the social organization grouping production enterprise or the federation of the nonsocialized production enterprises;

"2) On behalf of the employees: by the statutory body of the appropriate trade union or the inter-trade union federation or organization.

"Paragraph 2. If the collective labor contract is to cover the employees who are members of a number of trade unions, the negotiations on the contract are attended by all the trade unions concerned, who for that purpose establish a consultative commission in such a way that it duly represents the number of the interested trade union members. The collective labor contract can be signed if it is agreed to by the trade unions that represent the majority of the employees to whom the contract is to apply.

"Alternative: Expunge the last sentence in paragraph 2 and replace it with the following: 'The conclusion of the collective labor contract is done at the forum of the consultative commission. The contract is signed by the trade unions that have drawn it up.'

"Paragraph 3. The Council of Ministers will determine by decree the kinds of production enterprises or vocations and professions for which no collective labor contracts are signed and will detail the principles and procedures for concluding and terminating contracts and for their registration and publication."

Article 67.

This law comes into force on the day of its publication.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES YUGOSLAV DEFENSE MINISTER

AU101902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, supreme commander of the Romanian Armed Forces, received in Neptun Resort, on July 10, Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defence of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Attending were Major-General Constantin Olteanu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, as well as Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry.

The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly greetings between the Romanian RCP and state leader and the Yugoslav party and state leaders.

During the interview, highlighted with satisfaction were the good relations of friendship and close collaboration established between Romania and Yugoslavia, as well as the important role the understandings covenanted during the Romanian-Yugoslav top-level dialogue have in steadily expanding these relations. At the same time, the joint determination was expressed to expand and deepen the bilateral collaboration for the benefit of the two neighbour and friendly peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace, independence and international cooperation. Highlighted was the importance of strengthening the links between the armies of the two countries as a component part of the general development of the traditional Romanian-Yugoslav relations.

During the interview, aspects of the current world political situation were also approached with emphasis on the necessity of peoples' intensified struggle for the lessening of tension in international life, for the resumption and furtherance of the policy of detente, collaboration and respect for national independence, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the state of tension and conflict existing in various regions of the world, of all issues facing mankind. Stress was laid on the need for the building of a lasting system of security in Europe and in the world, for the promotion of relations of close collaboration and good neighbourliness among the Balkan countries, for the carrying into effect, in Europe and worldwide, of effective measures of military disengagement and disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, without which detente and peace cannot be conceived.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Visit Concludes

AU101904 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Over July 8-10, the federal secretary for national defence of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Army General Nikola Ljubicic, accompanied by a military delegation, paid a working visit to Romania at the invitation of Major-General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defence. Talks were held on the occasion which passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

ANDREI CONDUCTS TALKS WITH ANGOLAN LEADERS

AU101909 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Luanda, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party, expressed, during an interview they had in Luanda, their satisfaction for the steady deepening of the relations of solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the MPLA-Labor Party, in keeping with the collaboration agreement between the two parties covenanted during President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Angola.

The wish was also expressed to further develop those relations. Views were exchanged on current international issues, particularly on the situation in southern Africa.

During his visit to Luanda, as chairman for Romania of the joint Romanian-Angolan Intergovernmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation, Stefan Andrei had interviews with Bento Ribiero, minister of industry, and Jorge Morais, minister of petroleum with whom he reviewed the stage of economic cooperation and commercial exchanges between Romania and Angola. Satisfaction was expressed at their upward course following the decisions made at highest level, and possibilities and the necessary measures were examined for their continual development and diversification.

Talks Continue

AU111404 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Luanda, 11 Jul (AGERPRES)--Now in Luanda to attend the third session of the Joint Romanian-Angolan Intergovernmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation, Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, co-chairman of the commission, conducted talks with Lopo Do Nascimento, Angolan minister of planning and external trade.

The current stage was examined of the economic cooperation and of commercial exchanges between Romania and Angola and the future orientations were established for deepening their cooperation in the field of mining, agriculture, oil and petrochemistry, wood working a.o. The increase of the volume of commercial exchanges was agreed upon in keeping with the growing possibilities of the tw countries' economies.

The talks between the foreign ministers of Romania and Angola continued. Views were exchanged on current international questions of mutual interest, the determination of the two countries being reiterated to strengthen their collaboration for the settlement of those questions for the benefit of the Romanian and Angolan peoples, of the policy of peace, national independence, detente and understanding in the world.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH GDR; AGREEMENT SIGNED

AU101817 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--On July 10 Ana Muresan, Romanian minister of internal trade and Kurt Lemke, deputy minister of trade and supply of the GDR, discussed aspects related to increasing the exchange of consumer goods between the domestic trade ministries of the two countries.

The same day Constantina Arsenie, secretary of state, the Ministry of Internal Trade and Kurt Lemke signed an aide-memoire including the measures reached for expanding and deepening the exchanges of goods and the collaboration between Romania and the GDR in internal trade in 1981.

PRESS COMMENTS ON PROBLEMS OF MADRID CSCE MEETING

AU101821 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--A Madrid dispatch published on July 10 by Romanian daily SCINTEIA notes that partial progress has been marked in these last few weeks at the all-European conference, whose amplification calls for further sustained efforts. Despite actual progress, the daily goes on, it has failed to achieve the expected results with the key problems, as the solutions advanced so far do not take account of all participants' interests. Therefore, in the plenum of the meeting, where the debate pursued the more clear assessment of the stage of the workings and the emphasizing once more of the current imperatives, the representatives of the majority of the participating states, Romania included, have expressed once more their discontent and concern stirred by the fact that the negotiations in the all-European forum have been dragging on for so long without marking substantive progress.

This feeling of worry and preoccupation, SCINTEIA reads, makes more marked the topical character of the call the GNA [Grand National Assembly] of Socialist Romania has addressed to the countries signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, a document viewed with particular interest in Madrid. The newspaper considers the main targets of the conference to remain the achievement of a final document [word indistinct] to meet the peoples' expectations and the conclusion of the conference in the Spanish capital city by the middle of July. Among the key problems still waiting for answers, on which one way or another the success of the present forum depends, remains undoubtedly the need for convening a conference for measures of confidence and disarmament in Europe, a practical proposal accepted by the representatives of all the states, yet whose concrete mandate has not been made clear.

The Bucharest newspaper reviews another pending question, the one related to secured continuity to the process of building security and cooperation on the continent, and in this context, to establishing the date and place of the next all-European conference. Pointing to an opinion that is widely shared in Madrid, the correspondent warns that extending the conference over reasonable limits cannot but prejudice the credibility enjoyed by the negotiations before the public opinion, diminish the impact the Madrid conference is called to impress on the present state of international affairs. The problem of intensifying the proceedings is again topical, the Bucharest newspaper notes pleading for the conclusion of the Madrid forum in reasonable time, in positive, substantial results.

SCINTEIA CRITICIZES WESTERN BANK INTEREST RATES

AU090855 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 8 July carries on page 6 a 1,400-word article by Gheorghe Cercelescu: "The Exaggerated Increase in Bank Interest Is a New Form of Exploitation of Developing Countries".

Without referring specifically to any country, the author says that interest rates of 20 percent and higher make it exceedingly difficult for developing countries to purchase the equipment they need for development, and when they actually do borrow capital to build a new project, profits do not even suffice to pay back the interest, so that they are compelled to give "big capital" a share in the works. Moreover, poor countries are often forced to borrow money just to repay old loans. Similarly, this "expensive money" policy cancels out any preferred treatment that developing countries may enjoy from rich countries. The situation also permits big monopolies to make greater profits from the "third world" without direct investments and thus without any risk. "Moreover, the deterioration of the already precarious economic situation in poor countries enhances internal social and political tension, thus feeding the hopes of big capital for reversals favorable to its interests."

The author concludes by stressing the wisdom of Nicolae Ceausescu's decision not to permit additional loans in view of the international monetary situation.

AGERPRES SCANS PROPOSED 'AGRARIAN REVOLUTION'

AU101120 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--The plan of development of agriculture and food industry in the 1981-85 period endorsed by the country's parliament at its recent session, has come into force in Romania. This programme will help speeding up still more the process of intensive development and updating of agriculture, ensuring the carrying through of a genuine agrarian revolution.

The mapping out for the first time now of such a programme at a national scale, as part and parcel of Romania's general five-year plan, marks a reconsideration in fact of agriculture which is now assigned such dimensions as to increase its contribution to the national income, to a better supply of the population with farmfood produce and of industry with raw materials.

As a whole, stipulations cover the accentuation of the process of updating and intensive growth of the farm production, which will increase at an annual rate of 4.5-5 per cent with global production and 6.8 per cent with net agricultural production.

The central target of the programme is the increase of the cereal output which is envisaged to go up to 28.5 million tons by 1985, in normal climatic conditions, that is, 8.5 million tons more than in the best farm year so far (1979). Stipulated are also ever larger amounts of vegetables, potatoes, fruit and grapes in a diversified range of sorts and spaced out all the year long, with a view to meeting the per capita consumption demands and also other needs of the national economy. The attainment of this important growth of plan production is expected to be helped by the securing of stable crops especially with cereals and technical crop [as received], as well as with vegetables, fruit and grapes.

Priority will be given to the strong development and updating of zootechny whose share within the total farm output will have to go up to some 47 per cent by 1985. The tasks stipulated in this domain chiefly pursue the increase of the head of animal and poultry. By improved breeds and selection, this will ensure the necessary raw material for the food industry which will grow in the next year at an annual average rate of 7.7 per cent.

Likewise, the investment of over 179 billion lei will be responsible for an increase by 86,000 tractors of the material base of agriculture, and by a diversified range of self-propelled combines and multi-purpose machines. The complex mechanization of farm operations will be practically ensured by 1983-1984. The areas laid out for irrigation will be also extended (2.9 million hectares fit for irrigation by 1985), important works will be made for land melioration, expansion and modernization of fruit-tree and vine plantations.

Greater tasks are also incumbent on scientific research: the evolving and application to production of new plant strains and hybrids, of new animal breeds and lines of high productivity, the development of improved technologies in all domains of agricultural activity.

The updating and intensive development, by the application of the latest gains of agro-zootechnical science and the economic and organizational consolidation of all farm units will ensure the production growth, the meeting of the internal consumption demands and export availabilities.

FORESTRY MINISTER FLOREA ENDS VISIT TO BULGARIA

AU111922 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Ion Florea, minister of forestry economy and construction materials, paid a visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, where he had a talk with Yanko Markov, Bulgarian minister of forests and forest industry, and visited specialized enterprises. On this occasion, the two sides identified and agreed upon new measures to expand cooperation in fields of mutual interest.

BRIEFS

SOMALI MINISTER'S VISIT--Mohamed Ali Nur, minister of livestock, forestry and range of Somalia visited Romania between 19 June-3 July. He toured grain research institutes, agricultural machinery stations, livestock and other units. At the end of the visit, Angelo Miculescu, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food industry, and Mohamed Ali Nur signed a program of measures to implement cooperation projects in the areas of agricultural, livestock and vegetable production, scientific research and exchanges of experts and information agreed upon during the Somali president's visit to Romania. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jul 81 p 5 AU]

FURTHER REPORT ON 'ARAFAT VISIT TO BELGRADE

TANJUG Interviews 'Arafat

LD101430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0825 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO Executive Committee chairman, has answered a number of questions put to him by TANJUG editor Mirko Aksentijevic in connection with the Middle East crisis. Despite the very complex and difficult situation, a new process is beginning among the Arab countries and people; this process calls for greater Arab solidarity to be able to face the strategic and historical challenge. At the same time, the Palestinian leader appealed for broad action to be taken to stop Israel's aggressiveness and prevent the threat to the Arab nation and world peace. 'Arafat voiced the firm resolve of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories to persist with their just struggle to the very end. He also stressed that partial solutions only serve to make the situation even more complex and cannot pave the way to lasting and just peace.

Israel is massing troops on its border with Lebanon and preparing for major operations against the PLO forces and their allies. At the same time the Israeli forces are threatening Syria. Israel is armed with and is using the most modern U.S. arms, even those whose use is banned by international law, such as fragmentation bombs and plastic, napalm and gas bombs. The Lebanese and Palestinian people, 'Arafat stated, are facing military escalation by Israel. Making use of the most modern technology, Israel is trying in evey way to prevent any settlement in Lebanon. The so-called "missile crisis" was also provoked as a part of this plan. It came exactly at the time talks were being held in Beirut between Syrian Foreign Minster Khaddam and Lebanese President Sarkis on the program of Lebanese reconciliation.

While talks were being held in Beirut, Israeli aircraft shot down two Syrian helicopters far away in Lebanese airspace, and thus provoked the "missile crisis" and fresh exacerbation. This obvious example, 'Arafat stressed, shows that the Israelis do not attack the Lebanese alone, but are threatening the security of the entire Arab nation. No lesser a proof of this is the Israeli air attack on the Iraqi nuclear center. The Palestinian leaders consider that the Israeli forces could not have carried out this attack without U.S. agreement. US. arms and technology were used in the attack. The U.S. representatives' peculiar behavior later on exposed the whole conspiracy, Yasir 'Arafat stated. The U.S. representative in the Security Council threatened to veto any measures taken against Israel, so that in the end there was only a mild condemnation of Israel's behavior. 'Arafat condemned the United States for extending all kinds of military, political, diplomatic and financial aid to Israel, which does not attack with its own resources, 'Arafat stressed. It threatens and attacks with American might, by means of American aid.

The Palestinian leader also expressed anxiety at the growing U.S. role in the Middle East. According to him the presence of naval forces and efforts to establish military bases are clear proof of this state of affairs. The region is surrounded by three U.S. fleets, the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh, whose units are in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and also in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Bases have been established in Egypt, Somalia and Oman, and there is also the formation of the rapid deployment forces. The United States is doing everything to suppress the Arab people, 'Arafat stated, but, he added, I ask myself how long one can corner a tiger and behave as if it were a cat.

The grave situation in Lebanon affects not only that country, but the entire region as well. With its latest actions, Israel has also brought the nuclear element into play, which is very dangerous. In this connection it should not be forgotten that Israel possesses 18-20 atomic bombs. These data are not revealed by me, 'Arafat said. They have been confirmed by former Israeli President Katzir, who worked as a professor in the Weizmann Institute of Science.

Israel's behavior is also threatening world peace. A firm attitude must be adopted in the conditions created by aggressive and military threats. Without such an attitude being adopted it will not be possible to find a political solution. 'Arafat stressed that this is the only way to restrain the "disobedient child" Israel.

Despite the fact that they face barbarous aggression, the Palestinian people and their movement, 'Arafat stated, are resolved to persist with their just struggle to its very end. We are exposed to daily attacks from the sea, air and ground, he said. The situation is particularly grave for the Palestinian people who live under Israeli occupation. They are exposed to pressure, terrorism, officially organized terrorism and oppression. We resist all these plots and we shall go on resisting them, because we adhere to the Arabic proverb which says "the blow which did not kill me has made me stronger."

Asked what he could say in reply to the frequent remarks about why the PLO is not ready to recognize the existence of the State of Israel, 'Arafat said: "They all ask the victim to make concessions. Why is the aggressor, the invader, not asked to recognize the rights of the victim?"

According to Yasir 'Arafat, the political decisions adopted by the Palestinian movement at its recent national conference in Damascus have consolidated the unity of the people and movement still further. He particularly stressed that the Palestinian population in the occupied territories extend their full support to the political leadership of the movement and recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the whole Palestinian people. Apart from the clearly pronounced will and resolve of the Palestinian people, the PLO is also recognized as the representative of the Palestinian people in UN resolutions and Arab summit decisions. The PLO is also a full member of the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, and the Nonaligned Movement.

In addition to the struggle which has been forced upon us, 'Arafat emphasized, as a movement we play an important role in the Arab League, the Islamic Conference and the Nonaligned Movement. We are particularly proud of the role which we play in the Nonaligned Movement, he stressed. The principles of the Nonaligned Movement are very significant, especially now in the circumstances of increased international tension. They are significant not only for the member countries of the movement, but also for the well-being of the entire world. The value and significance of the principles of nonalignment are manifesting themselves right now, 'Arafat stressed.

Speaking about developments in the Arab world, 'Arafat expressed the view that the general situation is beginning to improve. New developments are being felt in the Arab ranks, among Arab countries following the aggression against Lebanon, the "missile crisis" and the attack on the Iraqi nuclear center.

"For our part we encourage these developments, and I may state that the PLO is playing a significant role in the process of consolidating the solidarity of the Arab people. One senses a 'new kind of awakening which strives toward becoming able to meet the strategic and historical challenge,'" 'Arafat said.

"I am sure that a new process is beginning," 'Arafat added, expressing the conviction that Israeli Prime Minister Begin made a "historical and fatal mistake in attacking the Iraqi nuclear center." The results will follow later on and we Arabs are patient. Our patience may be compared with floodwaters, because when they come they sweep away everything in their path, 'Arafat added.

Appraising the recent parliamentary elections in Israel and Begin's success, Yasir 'Arafat stated that this did not come as a surprise. We forecast this, he added. "I even think that it is a good thing that Begin is back.

In that way one gets a clear, dirty [as received] picture of the Israeli military junta. We know it for what it is, but now the real state of affairs will be understood not only by all the Arabs, but also by some of our friends," 'Arafat stated.

Pointing out that the Camp David process has found itself in a complete stalemate, the Palestinian leader said that this is clearly admitted by the Americans and recognized in Europe. The European countries could play a significant role in settling the Middle East crisis, 'Arafat thinks. However, they can only achieve this if they become free of U.S. pressure. The American and European interests in the Middle East are completely different, and becoming free of U.S. pressure constitutes a challenge to European countries, 'Arafat said.

Asked how he appraises the victory of the French socialists during the recent elections and Mitterand's becoming the French head of state, the Palestinian leader said that Mitterand too is facing a major challenge. "He has to decide whether he will be president of the Fifth Republic or a new De Gaulle. He should make his choice and we are awaiting his decision. This is awaited by all the Arabs and not only by them, but also by all of Mitterand's friends and allies and even by his foes," 'Arafat said.

Yasir 'Arafat went on to say that the PLO's representatives are playing a very active role in the nonaligned countries' and Islamic Conference's good-will committees and that special efforts are being made to find a solution leading to a halt in the war between Iraq and Iran.

"We are doing this," he added, "because we consider this war to be against the interests of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, as well as against Palestinian interests. It should not be forgotten that this war, unless halted, will deal a blow to the whole of the Nonaligned Movement and that is a very important aspect. For this reason we should do all we can to halt the war to the benefit of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and the benefit of all of us. I hope that we shall succeed in this because, among other things, I believe that everything that has a beginning also has an end."

"Nevertheless, viewing things as a whole I cannot say whether I am an optimist or not, but as a fighter for freedom I have a definite hope," 'Arafat stated and went on: "In particular we must do all we can to keep the great powers as far from this conflict as possible. They must be as far from it as possible." In 'Arafat's view it is necessary to bear in mind that a summit of the nonaligned is scheduled to be held in Baghdad next year. I believe, 'Arafat said, that we shall find a solution to the existing conflict and that the conference of the nonaligned will be held in Baghdad as planned.

Asked at the end to comment on his visit to Yugoslavia and the talks which he held, 'Arafat said that it is well known that good and sound relations exist not only between the PLO and the Yugoslav Government, but also between our peoples. Relations are very deep and highly developed, he stated, a fact we are very proud of. Despite this we strive, 'Arafat stated, to further extend and improve these relations. It is customary to have an exchange of views on various questions and problems, not only on those which concern bilateral relations, but also on a much wider scale. Also, we are members of the very important Nonaligned Movement, one of whose founders was President Tito, who played an exceptionally significant role in that movement in the world in general, Yasir 'Arafat concluded.

Kraigher-'Arafat Talks

LD101840 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Presidency of Yugoslavia President Sergej Kraigher today received PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, accompanied by PLO Executive Committee Members Faruq Qaddumi and Muhammad Khalifah.

During the friendly talk, in which took part also Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic, Yasir 'Arafat recalled his meetings with President Tito. He thanked Yugoslavia for its assistance to the PLO and stated satisfaction with the continuity of exceptionally good relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the PLO.

Certain topical international problems were also discussed, particularly various aspects of the disturbing situation in the Near East, where Israeli aggressive acts have escalated, and the situation in the Middle East. Yasir 'Arafat spoke about the positive results of the recent OAU summit. Attention was also devoted to the current activities for the solidarity and unity of the Arab countries, to which both sides attach great importance. The implementation of the policy of non-alignment was also discussed and, in this context, the need for solving disputes strictly by peaceful means.

Mojsov-'Arafat Talks

LD101836 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Lazar Mojsov had talks here today with Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat, who is in Yugoslavia as guest of the Federal Executive Council. Member of the Executive Committee and head of the PLO's Political Department Faruq Qaddumi also took part in the talk.

'Arafat informed Mojsov about activities of the PLO and its efforts to prevent a large-scale conflict in the Middle East. Both sides stressed the importance of the strengthening of Arab solidarity in the process of dealing with this crisis and of countering the aggressive Israeli policies, which have found full expression lately.

The identity of the two sides' stands in favour of a just solution of the Middle East crisis, implying Israeli's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to a state of their own, was reaffirmed also on this occasion. The just and acceptable solution can only be achieved with participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

During the meeting, attention was also paid to the Non-aligned Movement's activity and, especially, role in dealing with the Middle East crisis.

SFRY-Palestinian Communique

NC111314 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1130 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text of joint communique on visit of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to Yugoslavia, issued in Belgrade on 10 July]

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the Palestinian revolution's forces, paid an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia on 9-10 July 1981 at the invitation of Veselin Djuranovic, president the Federal Executive Council.

Yasir 'Arafat laid flowers on the grave of President Tito.

Sergej Kraigher, president ot the SFRY Presidency, received Yasir 'Arafat and had a friendly conversation with him.

Yasir 'Arafat was also received by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual respect, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, together with their associates, carried out a thorough exchange of views on the worsening of the international situation and on the questions related to bilateral relations and cooperation. Special attention was paid to the dangerous development in the Near and Middle East. In this connection, further activity of the movement of the nonaligned countries was considered.

The talks were attended on the Yugoslav side by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Dragomir Petrovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs; Nikola Cicanovic, foreign political adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council; and Branislav Novakovic, head of department in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. On the Palestinian side, the talks were attended by Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, and brother Muhammad Khalifatt, member of the PLO Executive Committee.

The two sides expressed serious concern about the worsening of the international situation, the mounting arms race, and the constantly increasing gap between the industrially developed and developing countries, as well as about the violation of the basic norms of behavior in relations between states.

In this context, special attention was paid to the analysis of the situation and dangers emanating from the Middle East because of the imperialists and Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries.

The two sides most resolutely denounced the constant Israeli aggression against Lebanon which causes destruction of the Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps and death and suffering to the innocent population.

By interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon, Israel is trying to prevent the efforts which are being made for national reconciliation and is threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of this peace-loving and nonaligned country. The two sides also condemned the Israeli threat against Syria and its attack against the Arab deterrent forces in Lebanon.

The two sides also denounced the Israeli piratical attack against the nuclear center in Iraq. The Israeli aggression represents a crude violation of the UN Charter and international norms. This insolent Israeli act has been unanimously denounced by the international community and the Security Council. Such practice can provoke a new conflagration which could have dangerous consequences for world peace and security.

In this connection, the two sides expressed deep regret about such arrogant behavior on the part of Israel and the encouragement given to it in this respect. This has also harmed the international efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. They emphasized that a comprehensive solution of the Middle East crisis can be achieved only by an unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and by recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, self-determination and establishment of their own independent state on the national soil.

They confirmed the attitudes which the nonaligned countries had adopted in Havana and New Delhi regarding the Camp David agreements and which had led to the weakening of the unity of Arab countries and of their struggle against Israeli aggression.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, reiterated the SFRY attitude that the Palestine question represents the essence of the Middle East crisis and that the PLO, as the only legitimate representative of the Palestine people, should be included on an equal footing with the other parties in all the international efforts on the Middle East problem.

The significance of the initiative taken by Yasir 'Arafat to overcome disagreements in inter-Arab relations and to establish Arab solidarity, as one of the fundamental factors of oppositon to aggression, implementation of national rights and consolidation of independence and security of Arab countries, was also pointed out.

The two sides voiced their concern about the continuing Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict. They noted again that a solution for controversial issues between these two nonaligned countries could be achieved only by peaceful means through negotiations on the basis of the UN Charter and the principles of the nonaligned policy. Such a solution would guarantee the legitimate rights of both Iraq and Iran. In this connection they support the peace missions of the nonaligned countries, the Islamic Conference and the United Nations. The Yugoslav side paid tribute to the activities of the PLO, and in particular of Chairman 'Arafat, directed at the most urgent ending of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, confirmed the SFRY and PLO's loyalty to the original principles of nonalignment and their resolve to continue to involve themselves, together with other nonaligned countries, in the implementation of the goals of the policy and movement of nonalignment. In this context, they stressed the significance of the nonaligned countries' ministerial conference in New Delhi. It had confirmed the resolve of all nonaligned countries that, regardless of the differences existing between them, they should continue to act as an independent, nonbloc factor in the direction of resolving pressing world problems and of preserving security and peace in the world.

They also stressed the significance of the ministerial meeting of the Coordination Bureau in Algiers and the support extended by nonaligned countries at the Security Council to the people of Namibia, under SWAPO's leadership, for the implementation of their national rights, through the application of UN Resolution 435. At the same time, they made a positive assessment of the results of the recent OAU summit, and they stressed its positive role in resolving Africa's problems.

Premier Djuranovic and Chairman 'Arafat expressed satisfaction with the successful development of bilateral relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the PLO, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, confirmed the readiness of the Yugoslav Government and people to continue to extend full support and assistance to the struggle of the Palestinian people for the implementation of their national rights.

'Arafat Leaves Belgrade

LD101842 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat today left Yugoslavia after paying a two-day official and friendly visit.

At the Belgrade airport, Yasir 'Arafat and members of his party were seen off by Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic and Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec.

DELEGATE TO CSCE CALLS FOR 'BALANCED' DOCUMENT

LD102206 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Madrid, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia today urged the CSCE Madrid follow-up to adopt a substantive and balanced concluding document and not a deficient one.

The delegates of Austria, Sweden and Malta put forth stands similar to the Yugoslav. They particularly insisted that everything be done for the follow-up to end with a positive balance-sheet, regardless of how much time this will take. The neutral and non-aligned countries, as is noted, are not abandoning their coordinated efforts for a successful outcome of the Madrid follow-up.

The representatives of the East and the West today again repeated that they support the adoption of a substantive document but again failed to make any real concessions toward turning the words into deeds. They, instead, continued repeating their well-known, contrary stands.

Presenting Yugoslavia's position, Assistant Foreign Secretary Ugnac Golob pointed to differences in the bloc stands at the follow-up. "If some delegations realize that they cannot overcome the mutual differences, they are obliged to tell us so. We would then draw the necessary conclusions and take the necessary measures for continuing efforts for a successful conclusion of the meeting," Golob said.

Golob underlined that for the Yugoslav delegation there is no substitute for a substantive and balanced concluding document. He urged the adoption of the draft concluding document proposed by the neutral and non-aligned countries, which includes also solutions to the problem of defining the zones for military-trust measures.

'TERRORISTS' ATTACK YUGOSLAV CLUBS IN BELGIUM

LD101744 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Brussels, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Anti-Yugoslav terrorism in Belgium continues and has escalated in a new attacks on Yugoslav citizens' clubs and associations. A break-in took place and fire was set in the premises of the "Perparimi" culture and sports association of Yugoslavs of Albanian nationality in Brussels last night.

The perpetrators of this latest anti-Yugoslav terrorist act demolished and set on fire the furniture in the club. The premises have been put out of use for some time and the repair work will require considerable sums of money.

The "Perparimi" association and its members and management have lately been exposed to constant threats and provocation on the part of various groups of the extreme Albanian irredentist emigration, whose activity here has gained momentum. This fact has repeatedly been brought to attention of the Belgian authorities, especially after a recent forceful break in the association's premises and attempt at setting fire.

The latest attack has taken place only four days after the premises of another association of Yugoslav citizens and emigrants of Albanian nationality in Belgium, "the "Abdullah Krasnici" in Namur, were destroyed in a fire set in a similar way. This is the sixth terrorist attack on the premises of Yugoslav missions and associations of Yugoslav workers on temporary work and emigrants in Belgium during the past three months.

LJUBICIC RETURNS FROM VISIT TO ROMANIA 10 JUL

LD102034 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade--Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, today returned from a brief working visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania and to the Romanian Armed Forces.

During his stay in the neighbouring and friendly country, General Ljubicic visited units and institutions of the Romanian Armed Forces and held talks with his host, Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense, and other military leaders of the Romanian Armed Forces. The talks dealt with the further development of relations and promotion of cooperation between the armed forces of the two friendly countries.

The return of General Ljubicic and members of the delegation at Batajnica Airport was attended by Col-Gen Dzemil Sarac, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; Col-Gen Radovan Vojvodic, assistant federal secretary for national defense; Col-Gen Janko Suanjar, Maj-Gen Anton Tus, Rear-Adm Zvonimir Kostic and other officers of the Yugoslav People's Army. The return was also attended by Constache Savu, counsellor of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Yugoslavia.

DORONJSKI TO CONTINUE TREATMENT IN BELGRADE

LD101602 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--After being examined and treated in [name indistinct] hospital in Paris, Stevan Doronjski, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will continue to receive treatment in the military medical academy in Belgrade.

TRADE UNIONS ANALYZE WORK STOPPAGES IN 1980-81

LD111855 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 11 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--In the whole of last year and the first three months of 1981 some 13,500 Yugoslav workers staged work stoppages because of their dissatisfaction with the pace at which their self-management rights were being realized in their enterprises.

In this period 300 work stoppages ranging from half-an-hour to one day were recorded in all Yugoslav republics and provinces. The number of workers taking part in them varied from only a few to about a hundred at the most.

The trade union organization considers this to be a negligible number in view of the fact that about 6 million Yugoslavs are employed in 62,000 enterprises.

The Yugoslav Constitution does not envisage work stoppages as a means by which the employed should struggle for their rights. On the other hand, not a single regulation banning them exists and each case is dealt with attentively.

In an analysis of work stoppages, the Yugoslav trade union notes that not a single one was of a political nature or aimed against the self-management system. To the contrary, it was noted that workers demanded a more consistent and rapid implementation of self-management rights.

In the majority of stoppages, the workers demanded that errors which, in their view, had been made in the distribution of personal incomes (earnings) be rectified.

In a number of cases, workers stopped work on the grounds that apartments had been allocated irregularly. There were also some stoppages in protest against delays in payments of vacation subsidies. In Yugoslavia, self-managment acts in all the enterprises to provide for annual vacation subsidies for every worker.

Trade union officials point out that some foreign trade union delegations on visits to Yugoslavia found it unbelievable that cases when three or four people stopped work for half-an-hour to discuss what measures they were going to take because of what they believed to be irregular and unjust in their enterprises are considered work stoppages. The Yugoslav trade union, however, deals with every suspension of work as a work stoppage and each individual case is discussed with the workers involved.

Although work stoppages in 1980 were more frequent in comparison with 1979, each individual case was resolved quickly and the reasons giving rise to dissatisfaction eliminated. As a rule, the work hours lost during the stoppages were made up for on the first following Saturday or Sunday.

HODZA ADDRESSES VETERANS ON KOSOVO EVENTS

LD121146 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 12 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 12 Jun (TANJUG)--Mehmet Hodza, member of the Federal Council of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR], stated at the session of the veterans' organization in Pristina that the situation in Kosovo is relatively stable, but that we should not be satisfied with this and that vigilance should be increased. At the session held on 9 July Mehmet Hodza pointed out the contribution made by veterans to the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

Taking part in the debate, he advocated that Kosovo leaders should urgently examine their work in a self-critical manner and tell the Yugoslav public why the present situation in Kosovo arose and who bears the political responsibility for such a situation. Mehmet Hodza added that it is not only Kosovo leaders who are responsible but also those further afield, but he said that the basic thing is to see who should be called to account in Kosovo for what happened.

Mehmet Hodza believes that conditions have matured to make a step forward in the cadre policy because in Kosovo "often three or four people have for decades already been making decisions on the fate of the people, it is they who elect, it is they who propose and place in responsible posts, and so forth." My impression is, he said, that things are not quite as they should be, and that we cannot say that we have always elected people to jobs who have been able to carry out their tasks in the best possible way.

Speaking about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Mehmet Hodza stressed that it is necessary--and this is primarily the duty of the Albanians--to ensure peaceful life and work for all non-Albanian citizens of Kosovo. He added that during the war the party took care not to fall into the trap of the occupiers by causing hatred and genocide and avoided the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins. Now it is much easier to strengthen brotherhood and unity in Kosovo and Metohija, and this is also our duty both to the living and the dead, Mehmet Hodza said, stressing that without brotherhood and unity, which should be safeguarded as the apple of one's eye, there can be no survival.

KOLJ SIROKA SPEAKS AT PRISTINA SAWP SESSION

LD102046 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 12 Jul 81

[Summary] Pristina, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--The Municipal Conference of the Pristina SAWP today assessed the activity of this sociopolitical organization in the struggle against hostile and counterrevolutionary forces and determined tasks for further implementation of the action program of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, and for stabilizing the situation in the municipality.

"Speaking about the reasons and circumstances which favored the escalation of hostile activity, Aljus Salihu, president of the Municipal Conference, said among other things that the Socialist Alliance and all other subjective forces were burdened by numerous shortcomings, such as insufficient organization conformity, verbosity, familiarity, forum-type work in informal groups."

The session was also attended by Kolj Siroka, Presidium president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, and Asejm Vlasi, Presidium president of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP.

"Speaking about the indoctrination of the young with Albanian nationalism, Siroka recalled that at one time the study of the history of the Albanian people was neglected, which was criticized and later corrected. However, what happened then? Instead of interpreting historic personalities and events from a class perspective and proceeding from the interests of the working class, national romanticism and nationalism as well as the glorification of events and personalities got the upperhand, which led to an uncritical acceptance of this by young people.

Kolj Siroka also devoted a part of his speech to the enemy attempts to provoke discord between Kosovo and Serbia and our entire community. In this connection he recalled the well-known data about the allocations made by wider social community for the development of Kosovo in this 5-year period. The entire community, Siroka said, accepted with a sense of solidarity that almost half of the resources of the fund, which helps the undeveloped republics and this province, should go for the development of Kosovo. A large part of these resources is provided and will be provided by the working people of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The enemy ignores this and tries to bring about a confrontation between the Serbian and Albanian people."

SRBICA COMMUNISTS VIEW SECURITY SITUATION

AU111417 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] At a session today the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Srbica discussed current tasks of the League of Communists and other economic and political stabilization matters in the commune. Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, attended the session.

Submitting a report on the security-political situation in the Srbica commune, Muharem Bestesi, heretofore president of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists, said that no demonstrations broke out in the commune during the unpleasant development in the province, although hostile elements from Srbica and neighboring communes in particular brought various pressures for such demonstrations to be held.

However, it has been established that 30 persons from the Srbica commune participated in the demonstrations in Pristina, Kosovska Mitrovica and Glogovac. Specific measures have been taken against those demonstrators. Thus, six workers, two of whom were educational workers, were dismissed from their jobs. Five persons were given prison terms of up to 60 days and six members were expelled from the League of Communists.

Continuing his speech, Muharem Bestesi spoke about the ideopolitical differentiation and stressed that no desired results have been achieved in this respect.

Participating in the work of the session of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Srbica, Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, said that although there were no demonstrations in that commune there was no room for self-satisfaction.

Thanks to the vigilance of the League of Communists and other progressive forces, the enemy was prevented from operating. However, it does not mean that in the future the enemy--if it were to find suitable conditions--would not manifest his pretentions. The enemy continues to exist and thus the League of Communists and other organized forces face the imperative of struggling to liquidate him. Those who defend nationalism, Veli Deva added, belong in the ranks of those who oppose our system. There is, the president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, emphasized, no hard or soft nationalism, for every nationalism is equally dangerous and leads nowhere.

In conclusion, Veli Deva also spoke about economic stabilization in that commune and stressed that it was necessary to approach the realization of production tasks in an organized manner because it is a vital precondition to further develop that underdeveloped commune.

At today's session, (Musli Dragalj) was elected president of the communal conference of the League of Communists of Srbica for a 1-year term.

LIPLJAN COMMUNISTS VIEW CAUSES OF DEMONSTRATIONS

LD102000 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Summary] Lipljan, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Not a single worker joined the enemy and counter-revolutionary demonstrations in Lipljan municipality, despite considerable difficulties faced by work collectives. In fact, at organized meetings workers have condemned enemy activity and expressed their readiness to fight resolutely against Albanian nationalism, irredentism and other types of nationalism. This is the assessment made by the session of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Lipljan which discussed the causes, circumstances and consequences of enemy demonstrations as well as the organizational standards and activity of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces.

The demonstrations in Lipljan, in which some 200 to 3,699 [figures as received] pupils of the vocational education center took part, have alarmed the working people and citizens all the more since intrahuman and intranational relations are traditionally good in Lipljan. Several participants in the debate, therefore, demanded that energetic action be taken to end any lack of trust and cooling off in these relations.

Enemy activity has been registered in Lipljan as far back as 1979 when a group of 16 persons were sentenced. The group included eight students and five professors at the center. Following the demonstrations in Pristina on 11 March this year, precautionary measures were taken in Lipljan, but they were evidently insufficient since the enemy succeeded in making a certain number of pupils participate in the demonstrations. The attempt was repeated on 21 May but was foiled, and on this occasion the group which had been preparing these demonstrations for a month was arrested. When arrested, detailed plans and charts were found on them. It was also ascertained that members of the group had taken the oath and that one of them was armed.

Insufficient ideological and educational work among the young, a lack of joint social activities of all nationalities and the fact that the League of Communists did not oppose energetically, concretely and efficiently enough negative phenomena and tendencies were mentioned at the session as the causes of the situation which led to the demonstrations. It was also pointed out that the qualifications of educational workers are not what they should be; of some 800 educational workers, 328 have no relevant qualifications.

The conference condemned phenomena of reducing ideological differentiation to mere verbal declarations. After 3 months verbal declarations are not enough and the process of differentiation should single out not merely the exponents of nationalism and irredentism but also those who keep silent, who hesitate and who behave in an opportunistic manner.

KOSOVO DEFENSE COUNCIL DISCUSSES DEFENSE PLAN

LD102226 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--At its session today chaired by Dzavid Nimani, the National Defense Council of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo discussed the program proposed by the Executive Council of the province's assembly to organize the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the need of all-people's defense and social self-protection in the period 1981-1985. The council endorsed the program to organize the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the needs of all-people's defense and social self-protection in the current medium-term development of the province and decided to submit it, together with proposals and suggestions made at today's session, to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for adoption.

TETOVO ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES POLITICAL SECURITY

LD102110 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Summary] Tetovo, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--The political security situation in Tetovo is complex with manifestations of escalation of nationalism. This was the assessment at today's session of all the chambers of the Tetovo Municipal Assembly. The complex nature of the political security situation in this commune, it was stated at the session, manifests itself first and foremost in fanning nationalistic passions and national intolerance as well as in leaflets and slogans which call for public actions from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This shows that the enemy in this municipality has not given up and that measures aimed at combating and destroying him have not been efficient enough.

In many environments, it was stressed in the debate, in particular in those in which nationalistic phenomena and excesses have taken place, there is still no true differentiation. In this connection the delegates of the Tetovo Municipal Assembly pointed out that in the past few years there have been cases of persons condemned for having engaged in enemy activity being rehired by educational institutions and readmitted to the League of Communists. This was the case with 26 educational workers in Tetovo municipality. In this connection, a delegate demanded that the question of accountability be raised and that investigations be carried out to find out who is responsible for the rehiring of such persons.

Most of the speakers in the debate wanted to know why the process of differentiation is lagging behind in Tetovo. Though over 3 months have passed since enemy actions in Kosovo and Tetovo, references are still made in general terms to "some" phenomena and "some" environments, but no names are mentioned. The delegates therefore demanded that a list of all who have acted from enemy positions be submitted to the next session of the Municipal Assembly. Speaking of one of the reasons for the lagging behind in political differentiation, Hidzet Ramadani, president of the Municipal SAWP Conference of Tetovo, said that activists in local communities of the municipalities have not yet held sessions and there has been little work with the grassroots, working people and citizens, and yet it is on them that the entire political system of socialist self-management rests.

To activate all the working people and citizens and all the structures of the political system as well as all nations and nationalities is a task which cannot be delayed. It is only in this way that we shall successfully dissociate ourselves from those who want to demolish our system. Only in this way can the enemy be exposed and destroyed, Hidzet Ramadani said.